

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

MARCH, 1950

EDITORIAL: THE POLICY OF HISTORICAL  
MAGAZINE

THE VALUE AND FUNCTION OF THE CONSERVA-  
TIVE MAN IN SOCIETY *By Frank D. Klingberg*

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OUR AMERICAN CHURCH IN ROME

*By Walter Lowrie*

ST. MARY'S HALL, FARIBAULT, MINNESOTA

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THE PIERPONT MORGAN COLLECTION OF  
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*By Richard G. Solomon*

CHURCH RECORDS SURVEY IN NORTH  
CAROLINA

*By Christopher C. Lenden*

REVIEWS: *Codrington Chronicle, Klingberg. The Word Was Made Flesh, Marshall. A Philosophy of Life, Bender. Letters to My Son, Runes. All Saints' Church, Wexham, Bull. Robert Johnson Talks It Over, Johnson. The Province of the Pacific, Sanford. How We Got Our Prayer Book, Esch. Goals and Mission of the Episcopal Church, Marshall. England Yesterday and Today, Walbank. Audubon's American Birds, Sitwell.*

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# **HISTORICAL MAGAZINE**

**of the Protestant Episcopal Church**

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## of the Protestant Episcopal Church

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## EDITORIAL

### THE POLICY OF HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

The fact that HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has a new editor-in-chief means no change in editorial policy. The present occupant of this particular chair has been actively associated with the Magazine for sixteen years, since 1934, and for most of that time he has been managing editor. The two senior associate editors—Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon and Dr. Edgar L. Pennington—have ably and devotedly served the Magazine since its beginning in 1932.

In the last issue (December, 1949), we paid tribute to our late editor-in-chief, Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, but in taking up his mantle it may be well to re-state the principles of our editorial policy which we shared with him.

(1) Our primary purpose is to publish the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in all its varied aspects, and, although some 6,800 pages in eighteen volumes have already been published, we recognize that we have barely scratched the surface.

(2) To give no encouragement to a smug provincialism, we shall continue to devote some of our pages to the history of the Anglican Communion and its several autonomous churches, of which the American Episcopal Church is one.

(3) It is our contention that ecclesiastical history and biography can be written as fairly and objectively as secular history and biography.

While on Cover II we state, "The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors," we shall be rigorous in our endeavors to make this principle effective on the part of our contributors. We have no patience with those who would write history as they think it "ought to have been," and not as it was.

Dr. Chorley himself proved that this principle can be effective. In his great book, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church*, which is largely concerned with the history of the various schools of thought in this Church, it is impossible for one to tell to what school of thought he himself belonged or with which he had the most sympathy.

(4) Most textbooks on American history used in our secondary schools, and even in our colleges, give a distorted picture of the history of this country by their gross neglect of the part played by the churches in the making of America. After mentioning the Pilgrims and the Puritans, almost nothing is said about the religious forces of the later decades.

It is true that we have a growing school of historians who seek to understand and to expound the social phenomena of American life, among which the churches have an important place. To correct the former neglect and to encourage the latter movement, the churches must help by telling their own stories. If they have not enough interest in their own history to develop productive scholars and to provide them with a medium for making their researches known, who, pray, is expected to do so?

The arguments for studying American religious history were never more ably stated than by the late Dr. J. Franklin Jameson in his notable essay, "The American Acta Sanctorum," which was his presidential address before the American Historical Association in December, 1907.\* Forty-two years later, this essay still repays careful study. We can quote only a few extracts here:

In the first place, not a few of our American saints have borne an important part in public affairs . . . We have also our saintly travellers, whose roamings over our vast continent have enriched the history of American geography with some of our best materials. . . . Contemporary biographer or autobiographer, he pictures unconsciously, so far as he pictures it at all, the social *milieu* which he saw before him. . . . By means of the American missionaries we see the Indians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is extraordinary, how large a part of our knowledge of their characters and their sociology is derived from the lives or narratives of such men. . . . The same

\**American Historical Review*, Vol. XIII (January, 1908), 286-302.

is true of the life of the frontier. Few travellers show us so much of the actual conditions of backwoods existence as the itinerant missionaries. . . .

But even in the older parts of the country, there have been regions or classes of which we know little unless by chance we find some faint record in the early life of one who rose out of them to saintship. . . . Not less interesting are many passages in the lives of Catholic or Protestant worthies who were not of English descent. They paint for us the obscure processes of Americanization. . . .

It would not be easy to enumerate all the little ways in which the lives of the American saints may enlarge our knowledge of the social background, the substantial warp of our American fabric. . . . More broadly speaking, the distilled essence of a multitude of these saintly biographies is able, as in the case of the European nations, to show us something of national character. . . . The American saints have also imbibed from their native atmosphere a cheerful and hopeful spirit, which not even the extreme rigors of ultra-Calvinism can wholly destroy. . . .

If one ventures to insist a little upon their utility to the young investigator, it is from a sense of a real danger which besets the latter's pathway, the danger of confining himself to the constitutional and political history of America, now so easy to study, and from a consequent desire to urge upon him the claims which American religious history may make upon one who wishes a full understanding of the American character and spirit. . . . There is something to be said for the contention that, of all means of estimating American character from American history, the pursuit of religious history is the most complete. . . .

He who would understand the American of past and present times, and to that end would provide himself with data representing all classes, all periods, and all regions, may find in the history of American religion the closest approach to the continuous record he desires. . . . Millions have felt an interest in religion where thousands have felt an interest in literature or philosophy, in music or art. . . . No view is truthful that leaves out of account the ideals which animated these toiling millions, the thoughts concerning the universe and man which informed their minds. . . .

Moreover, the history of religion in America holds a peculiarly close relation to the general history of the American spirit from the fact that here, more than elsewhere, the concerns of the churches have been managed by the laity or in accordance with their will. If ever anywhere ecclesiastical history can be rightly treated as consisting solely of the history of ecclesiastics, certainly it has not been so in the United States. It has reflected the thoughts and sentiments, not of a priestly caste, but of the mass of laymen. . . .

In every other period of recorded time, we know that the study of religion casts valuable light on many aspects of history. Why should it be otherwise with the religious history of America? Unless we are content to confine ourselves to the well-worn grooves of constitutional and political history, and to resign to sciences less cautious than history the broad story of American culture, why should we not seek light from every quarter? Most of all let us seek it from the history of American religion, in the sum total an ample record, even though in parts we have to compose it like a mosaic from fragments of unpromising material.

In so far as what Dr. Jameson has said applies to the Episcopal Church, we shall continue to act upon it.

(5) Finally, we intend to continue to consider the needs of those laymen who desire to know more of Church history and biography, by publishing articles of interest to them and not merely of interest to the specialist. We shall endeavor to stimulate their appreciation of the best historical scholarship, to make our Church's historians as well known to them as some of their heroes in the realm of sports, and to demonstrate that Church history can be sound without being dull.

WALTER H. STOWE.

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#### DR. HARDY: PADDOCK LECTURER

The Rev. Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr., S. T. M., Ph. D., professor of Church History in the Berkeley Divinity School and associate editor of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, delivered the Paddock Lectures at the General Theological Seminary, February 6-17, 1950, on the general subject, *The Patriarchate of Alexandria: A Study in National Christianity*. The titles of the separate lectures were:

1. Alexandria and Egypt in the Age of the Martyrs.
2. The Two Worlds of Athanasius.
3. The Pharaohs of the Church: Theophilus to Dioscorus.
4. Hardening into Schism.
5. Last Sight of Ancient Egypt.
6. From Pharos to Pharillon to Airport.

They will later be published in book form.

## THE VALUE AND FUNCTION OF THE CONSERVATIVE MAN IN SOCIETY

By Frank J. Klingberg\*

**T**HE conservative man is he who conserves his whole heritage. He does not in time of war or of hysteria surrender any part of his culture lightly. The radical, who finds his heritage a burden, and may, lightly, throw it away, is not deeply rooted in any tradition, old or newborn. When the winds change, he readily heads in another direction. The very mass weight of the conservative tradition prevents it from being tossed about by the vagary of changing winds. In England, the House of Lords, rooted in tradition and established wealth, in diplomatic experience and the practice of statesmanship, with its law lords and other judges, resists hasty change of custom and practice. This brake on rapid change may seem reactionary at times, but, again and again, the House of Lords has been a fortress by which the civil rights of Englishmen were protected. The House of Commons, elective and sensitive to change, may under stress of war, or other emergency, take regrettable action.

The history of the Episcopal Church is a long record of the advantages of conservatism, of what might be called the moderation of conservatism.<sup>1</sup> By its stable course through revolutions and reactions, it has preserved its bishops and its organization, its art and music, its sculpture and architecture. It has reached modern times with its riches of ritual, its beauty of painting and music. Nothing had to be changed after each wave of the "new barbarians," as the destroyers have been named. To reverse the famous phrase of Lewis Carroll, instead of running rapidly to stay in one's place, by staying in place, the Church of England in all countries has been running with and ahead of the

\*Dr. Klingberg is professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles, and associate editor of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*. This address was delivered at the triennial dinner of the Church Historical Society, at the Palace Hotel, San Francisco, October 4, 1949, during the sessions of the General Convention.—*Editor's note.*

<sup>1</sup>Two recent publications of the Church Historical Society set forth the theme of this address. The Rev. Dr. Edward Henry Eckel chose the Prayer Book for illustration, and Professor John Sedberry Marshall chose the work of the Church in all countries to define its "Genius." Edward Henry Eckel, *How We Got Our Prayer Book* (Philadelphia, 1949); John Sedberry Marshall, *The Genius and Mission of the Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia, 1949).

times, and in the twentieth century, is in tune with what we now praise as the enrichment of man's spiritual world.

Of all the vast fields of the Church in its long history that might be discussed here, I should like to turn to that old teaching that has imperishable Christian value. The brotherhood of man is a theme too deep and too wide for comprehension except as we break it down into a thousand facets. . . Some one has said, the wells of human charity are so old that hundreds of years underlie the forces of compassion in the human family. The child must be taught in the home, generation after generation, century after century. If only goodness were as contagious as hatreds!

In the course of my anti-slavery studies, followed to see the march of the brotherhood of man, I worked through the documents of the Public Record Office and the British Museum to understand the legal and parliamentary battles for a century, studied the pamphleteers and political campaigns and world-wide agitations. The work of the poets like Blake, Cowper, and Burns was included. I studied the records of the boards of trade and plantations, the profits of the shipping interests, the schemes for apprenticeship and emancipation. Finally, when all was done, and several volumes published, and I had seen how both the great slave trade, the most profitable commerce man ever discovered, yielding 24% per annum, and then slavery itself, was abolished and without war, the theme I had set myself in the vast literature of anti-slavery was not exhausted. I was then compelled to "back up," if I may use the phrase, from the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the seventeenth and early eighteenth to look for the sources of opinion, which ended slavery in the British Empire.

Who were the first few creators of the opinion that the slave had an immortal soul? Who in Britain first dreamed that a great historical wrong might be set right, and the legalization of slavery ended? Was it conservative men of the Church who undertook the slow century long task of education? To find a comprehensive answer I decided to examine the manuscripts of two great bodies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, founded in 1701, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1699.

To arrive at a method of attack upon such large masses of manuscripts, I, with numerous assistants, made extensive surveys, in the course of which I noticed brief volumes by groups of students. One, entitled *Private Charity in England, 1747-1757*, was a suggestive study. As definite as a telephone book is the amazing list of private donors, who in Britain gave loaves of bread to the prisoners, pounds and pence, clothing and contributions and services of all sorts to the suffering, the condemned, the deported, the widowed, the orphaned. The eighteenth



century, by the way, is the darkest century to the movies, whose writers come to the specialist, baffled by the vast misery, the crime, the harsh penalties, the long list of capital offenses of the time. They are unable to reduce for the screen the complexity of social needs and services as yet unorganized, the mass movement from rural parishes into the cities during the agricultural and industrial revolutions. This little book, *Private Charity* . . . , and other volumes such as the *Three Tours through London in the Years 1748-1776-1797*, and Defoe in his reports of the counties of England, suggested a group attack or other techniques for the volumes of material which I wished to examine from the great archives of the Church.<sup>2</sup>

The success of powerful business corporations in Britain inevitably suggested to humanitarians that they incorporate their otherwise disjointed efforts to ease the impact of economic revolutions at home and to mitigate the evils of imperialism on white man, black man, and brown man. The friendly, the kindly man, found in all ranks of society and in all four kingdoms, thus met the mass cruelty around him by voluntary charity. For the sick, the aged, the prisoner, the foundling, and the sufferers from every major hazard, the humanitarian, namely the Anglican, in the course of the century, covered the English countryside with numerous institutions which still stand as active monuments to this age. Most of these hostelrys are unknown to the general public, except as their anniversaries are celebrated or biographies of their founders are written.<sup>3</sup>

Although immeasurable, the most profound consideration must be given to the entrenched Christian traditions of the eighteenth century. The new cruelties and the violence of the age ran counter to the deep-stated conviction that kindness was British, not Jacobin; was native, not foreign. The wells of charity and the ideologies, whether Anglican or dissenting, deistic or evangelical, sprang from the silent accretions of centuries of humaneness. The long training of the people in earlier times, when the Church cared for the unfortunate, must not be forgotten in the intricate eighteenth—and nineteenth—century mixtures of medievalism and modern reform. The power of self-criticism and the entrenched tradition of independence were strong enough to change the climate of opinion within the resistant framework. A hardy character bred neither a spirit of fatalism nor of violent revolution. Active humanitarianism

<sup>2</sup>W. S. Lewis and Ralph M. Williams, *Private Charity in England, 1747-1757* (New Haven, 1938); Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis, *Three Tours through London in the Years 1748-1776-1797* (New Haven, 1941).

<sup>3</sup>Frank J. Klingberg, "The Evolution of the Humanitarian Spirit in Eighteenth Century England," read at the American Historical Association meeting, December, 1941, and printed in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 66 (July, 1942), pp. 261-262.



rebuilt society, changed Hogarth's London to Lamb's London, and laid foundations for the nineteenth century state.<sup>4</sup>

But by what technique can this long, sustained, and complex Church endeavor be revealed in dramatic relief? Were centuries of humanitarian strivings to realize the ideals of Christianity within the realities of the existing political and social order to be obscured by the quiet nature of the effort? Must the dramatic transitory radical of the moment always command center stage? In the efforts of the Protestant Episcopal Church to Christianize the New World is a hidden chapter in the humanitarian story that does much to right the balance of conservative versus radical and to reveal the massive contribution of the Anglican Church to the making of America.

The eighteenth-century reporter of the American scene varied from the writer, like William Byrd, who, in the volumes of his *Diary*, wrote data for his own use, to the professional or business man who wrote on a specific subject of military and naval defense, of discovery and exploration, of Indian tribes and treaties, or of trade. Long wanted by scholars has been the story of the man whose assigned function it was to go among the people and report all the phenomena of colonial life.

Key figures among the religious reporters were the three hundred and fifty-three representatives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, who were instructed to give the most exact information that could be gleaned. Moreover, they were encouraged to relate, independently of inquiry, any and all observations of their own on colonial society. This information in the age of Swift and Defoe and Wilberforce answered the interest in foreign adventure, colonial travel, primitive and pioneer life, missionary achievement, and empire expansion. These records from the colonial world won the financial support for the vast undertaking of the Society. It was supported not by taxes, but primarily by the wells of private charity. The exactness of eighteenth-century writing is shown even in business ledgers. The missionary, however, with his necessary data of adversity and achievement, covered the colonial scene as a whole better than any other observer.<sup>5</sup>

The missionary was the sounding board of the community. Riding thirty or forty miles to cover his parish, he saw the planter on the tide-water, the poor man on the frontier, the Indian, and the Negro, and noted

<sup>4</sup>Frank J. Klingberg, "The Evolution of the Humanitarian Spirit in Eighteenth Century England," read at the American Historical Association meeting in December, 1941, and printed in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 66 (July, 1942), p. 278.

<sup>5</sup>Frank J. Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle. The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-1767* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946), pp. 2-3.

every change of a mobile community. Through decades of continuous years, the story of the founding of a new virile society was recorded upon his eighteenth and nineteenth century film. On the reels of the S. P. G. is preserved Americanization in living process.<sup>6</sup>

Often without knowing it, the S. P. G. missionary described the building of a new society, opposite in so many ways to that of the old established order of things "at home." He was a sort of Boswell to this new society, whose every action and circumstance he observed with the eye of one who knew another way of life. His reflections and criticisms were, therefore, informed and sharp. His record is perhaps more valuable in that it was a by-product of another purpose than that of a conscious reporter. In the course of his drive, he uncovered the people's ideas and reviewed government and legislation, taxation, frontier defense, the role of health and disease, poverty and scarcity, war and famine, and the folk strategy of mastering a raw environment.<sup>7</sup>

Years ago, Professor Charles M. Andrews, of Yale, left me a legacy in a footnote to expand into volumes. Yes, historians leave legacies, and like the Church, look to new generations to develop what has been merely suspected or dimly seen. In England, Professor Andrews first realized the importance of the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as a supplement to trade and business reports. He thought a lay historian should do the spade work, well knowing that the historiographers, librarians and curators of the Church would see the value of the enterprise and help through publication and research. But laymen and churchmen, men and women, all ought to join in the preservation, study, and publication of records. Not tens but hundreds are needed to tell the story of the Episcopal Church in this country from Jamestown to San Francisco in 1949.

The labor and costs of examining the masses of S. P. G. materials, mainly in manuscript at first, seemed overwhelming. The eighteenth-century copper plate handwriting, clear at its best, involved intricate abbreviations and other difficulties. In 1930, I, with some valued colleagues, Dr. Louis K. Koontz, Richard Shelling, Dr. Dallas Irving, then a student of mine, and now archivist in the National Archives, the librarians from the Library of Congress and others, stood appalled at the piles of boxes arriving from London, not yet catalogued or organized. Ours was not the delightful experience of opening the beautifully bound two hundred volumes of the Lincoln papers! No N. B. C. or C. B. S., with cameras and newsreels, were there to view our despair. Only the

<sup>6</sup>Frank J. Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina* (Washington, D. C., 1941, p. xi).

<sup>7</sup>Frank J. Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle* . . . , p. 170.

janitor was amazed that in the Washington summer, we rushed through the door in the early morning and had to be driven out at night.

Notwithstanding appeals with all our oratory and logic to several of the foundations, and much labor on prospectuses and detailed projects, we at that time received no funds, though later on the American Philosophical Society and the Phelps-Stokes Foundation helped with financial support in addition to the generous grants from the University of California.

The National Youth Administration provided groups of typists to begin our collection of notes. The University furnished research space and assistance to supervise the copying and to help in looking over the material for bodies of correspondence, such as Sir William Johnson's, Dr. Francis Le Jau's and Commissary Gideon Johnston's, and for topics such as disease and health, education, economic life in Barbados, and for information pertaining to the foreign language groups and to particular geographical areas. At this early time we borrowed photostats from the Library of Congress and solved as best we could the many problems created by having only a part of a manuscript for a limited time and working without an index. At the present time we have a calendar-index for a large portion of the total collection. These calendars survey each roll of film and describe briefly each letter or document contained therein. Such a guide makes it possible for the scholar to use the film more rapidly and with a greater assurance that he will catch everything that is pertinent to the subject at hand. Without the calendar, he was working in the dark and hoping for the best.

Then, after nearly a decade of using photostats on inter-library loan, there came the glorious day of microfilm when we had for the first time the whole film at one time and could then follow a man throughout his life or a topic through one or all of the colonies. For instance, the Louisiana State University Press is to publish this fall John Duffy's *A History of Epidemics in the American Colonies*, a study which began with information gleaned from scattered bits of news relayed to the Society from the colonies. This work will be a most valuable and original piece of investigation, interesting to all the medical men of the country. Duffy's doctoral examination was attended by scientists and medical students on our campus. Thus the "word" of the Church spreads—its clergy have been long in the tropics, and have suffered from all the diseases and shortages of the frontiers. This volume of medical history, as reported by the excellent correspondents of the S. P. G., should not be a "surprise" to this gathering as it is to the present day American pagans and to those careless of our history, of our traditions. How many are ignorant of the fact—and how alarming this is—that

charity and compassion have long roots. Mercy was taught by the mediaeval Church before man could read or write, or understand the Latin of the priest, when the peasant left his clubs at the cathedral door, and took his instruction visually from his surroundings. England's "history was read in stone," with its memorials and markers for the martyrs and their achievements, long before the people were literate.

The Church Historical Society, with its able historians, and the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, were an inspiration. Dr. Stowe notably was a great resource and moral support. It was a milestone to me when Dr. Stowe and I discovered each other! I could say much of the importance of the Church Historical Society and the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH as avenues of publication and of hope for young scholars whose work first must appear to be known and to reach the commercial presses. The printing of books has now become so expensive that only in England is there a positive intent to publish worthy papers and books of a "risk capital" sort. We would begin a "dark ages" for scholarship and works of merit except for the priceless organs of publication such as the Church Historical Society and the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. We can be certain that the flood of coarse literature, much of it written as "script" for the screen will continue. The novel is not the art of our age—the great age of the novel was in the nineteenth century and at the moment the advertisements of the contemporary "classics" as slices of raw life are only too true!

Now at the end of twenty years' work with the S. P. G. we feel we have only begun. We have not exhausted the material. Its central subject is before the world as never before—the fate of European and native peoples, their education, their health. Insects, fungus and plant diseases are travelling by air, as well as rats, mice, and ideas! Somberly indeed, we must acknowledge that human slavery is here again. It has recently been put on the agenda of international conferences—not to secure its abolition but as if to insure its perpetuation. Governments deliver and receive prisoners of war as slave labor, as was the custom in ancient days and among the tribes of Africa. Mass slavery, now current in Eurasia, in contrast to domestic slavery has ever been the most brutal and dehumanized liquidation of human values and human life. Men seem callous at the daily news that between ten and fifteen million white men have disappeared into slavery. At the time of the Congress of Vienna, torchlight processions were held to announce its partial abolition and to demand its extinction. Lord Palmerston spent years of his half century in public life demanding its destruction. Where is his counterpart today?

In the entire Western world the torch of man's humanity now burns low. The anti-slavery crusade, inspired principally by Christianity, freed the Negro after a century of gigantic efforts. How do we now re-establish the moral fire for reclaiming our ancient brotherhood and human charity? By what means shall the cooperation of men of good will from country to country be brought about when their own governments engage in the slave trade on a huge scale? In our adversity we may turn again to our heritage, for the path of reform has been travelled before; the road has been marked, be it long and difficult to travel.

In contemplating the history of Western civilization, in its religious and moral conceptions, certain facts must be kept in mind. Before 1914, it was the expectation of the churches that they would Christianize the whole world in a generation or two. Then came deep fissures in the unity of white men.

Centuries of effort have succumbed to the expediences of the moment. In the United States, except for our history, our long training in our churches, our disciplines and generosity, our knowledge of the millions in money we have given to far missions all over the world and for the relief of famines, we would despair and cringe before the brutalization of man's conscience. Organized murder, mass guilt, purges, the exodus of millions from their immemorial homes seem to stun our minds and consciences and still our tongues!

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, men of good will made long and arduous journeys and tours of inspection, wrote their own books and reports, their own letters. Private correspondence reached into every country. Now we have iron curtains, brass curtains; we have mass trials, mass guilt; lists of nations and entire peoples who must be hated; men rather than wrongs are to be exorcised and destroyed.

In 1912, before World War I, when the community of ideas and of discourse still existed, men lived without fear and traveled freely, states Henry M. Tomlinson.

There were [he says] none of these accursed passports, visas, permits to stay, certificates of identity, and the rest of the documents of authority's damnable inquisition. . . . In the past, on a foreign shore, you were treated merely as another man, probably honest. . . . This fear-stricken age had not begun, when all people that meet you on arrival are armed officials, who must dutifully assume that you are . . . an evil-doer.\*

\**Holiday*, Vol. II, No. 1 (January, 1947), p. 82.

Rapid communications have thus worked to bring a strange silence upon the tongues of ordinary men. Two-day flights to far countries produce ghost-written books, proclaiming one world, then two worlds, ever-shifting divisions, unions, and enthusiasms. The book, the report, the opinion is ready as the rocket traveler alights.<sup>9</sup>

The Christian humanitarian, because of his stern Christian principles, has in general stood by his banner. "Of such men it may be said that their lives, their characters, and their principles do not shift as the times change. Their ideas and their achievements may be thought of as a unity. They do not 'die' in one character and take up another before the tomb. Something prevents their 'running with the hounds' against a cause dear to their vision of humanity.

"Looking about over the field of casualties in history, we find here and there a man who has loved his fellow man of whatever origin and tradition and who has a vision that the world can be made more humane, more beautiful, more livable, and that the general welfare, the health and happiness of all of its inhabitants may be increased. Such as these were the men who founded the S. P. G. and who, through two and a half centuries, have worked for Christian brotherhood."<sup>10</sup> *We must now be their spiritual heirs.*

Time forbids mention of the need for the study of many other aspects of religious history, especially of the great work of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We may hope that the Library of Congress will soon obtain films of the 2,000,000 pages of the British missionary societies up to the present time.

After this personal report of my particular studies in Church history, I am happy to add that the Church Historical Society and the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE have presented valuable books and articles portraying the nineteenth and twentieth century history of the American Church as well as earlier times. Methods have already been found for the classification and use of the many materials in the Church archives. Biographies, theological controversies, subjects relating to the Prayer

<sup>9</sup>Frank J. Klingberg, "British-American Humanitarianism and A Design for Peace," read as the presidential address before the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, December, 1948, and printed in the *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (May, 1949), pp. 185-198, *passim*.

<sup>10</sup>Frank J. Klingberg, ed., *Codrington Chronicle: An Experiment in Anglican Altruism on a Barbados Plantation, 1710-1834* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), pp. 12-13.

There is no finer example of determination in the history of Christianity than the founding and operation of Codrington College. The college "was a pioneer in testing and adapting known English methods of instruction to Negroes and whites in the colonial world, first in a slave economy and then among free men. In spite of typhoon, lukewarm friends and the blasts of the seasons, the S. P. G. stayed with its task until, aided by the new humanitarianism in Britain, better days came with the dawn of the nineteenth century." *Ibid.*, p. 122.



Book, music, architecture, sculpture, parish history, are coming to public attention and are enriching the total history of every area of the country.

What then is the function of the conservative man? Let us evaluate him by his works. He is not a leveller. As slavery had been legal for three hundred years, or three thousand years, he was willing to establish apprenticeship, to compensate the slave owner. Thus he avoided a war which cost a million lives in a dissenter's society, if we may so describe America. He is willing to arrive at the brotherhood of man by stages rather than by purges. He does not take liquidation of human beings lightly in his stride, as a recent book suggests we now learn to do. He does not wreck protective institutions and traditions.

The biographers of radical men admit freely that it is difficult for them to understand the conservative man or to be just to him—they cannot walk with him in his own times, and, writing from a later period of history, they have such impatience that they overlook his accomplishments. They are unable to present him as a man of true progress and not of reaction. That justice be done to the conservative man is a task that we may all assume. We may restore the Church in our lives. Our knowledge of its history, of all it has done to build a civilized society, will enable us to contribute by word, by silence, by deed, our witness to the faith that is in us.

In conclusion, I quote a bit of verse of John Quincy Adams:

'Tis wise a backward eye to cast  
On life's revolving scene,  
With calmness to review the past  
And ask what we have been.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup>John Quincy Adams, *Poems of Religion and Society* (New York, 1848), p. vii.

## ST. PAUL'S WITHIN-THE-WALLS

### The Story of Our American Church in Rome

*By Walter Lowrie\**

**T**HE first part of this story was told by Dr. Robert J. Nevin in a book<sup>1</sup> published soon after the church was consecrated on the feast of the Annunciation in 1876, and fifty years later I told the rest of the story down to the date of 1926 in a book which I called *Fifty Years of St. Paul's American Church, Rome*. Since 1930, when I resigned the rectorship, there have been five different incumbents, but nothing happened which would be of interest in this universe of discourse where I speak only of the building of the church. Nevin gave an account of what may be called the pre-history of the church for the ten years before his coming. My term of office, added to his, covered sixty-one years. I hope that the Rev. Hillis L. Duggins, who is now rector of the church, will carry on the history from the point where I leave off.

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF GRACE CHURCH

In the spring of 1859, Alonzo Potter, bishop of Pennsylvania, celebrated the Holy Communion in a private house on Piazza Trinità dei Monti.

"I am informed," said Nevin, "that this was the first time divine worship was held in Rome according to the liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and also that it was immediately taken notice of by the Papal Government in 'a significant and warning remark' by Cardinal Antonelli to the American Minister there resident."

In the autumn of this same year, and in the selfsame room (which was in the home of the American sculptor, Joseph Mozier), Grace Church was organized by the enterprise of the Rev. Chauncey Langdon, who was encouraged by Bishop Potter to come to Italy for this pur-

\*Dr. Lowrie, an outstanding authority on, and translator of, the works of the Danish philosopher and theologian, S. A. Kierkegaard (1813-1855), was rector of St. Paul's-Within-The-Walls, Rome, Italy, from 1907 to 1930.—*Editor's note.*

<sup>1</sup>Nevin, R. J., *St. Paul's Within the Walls: An Account of the American Chapel at Rome, Italy* (New York, 1878), pp. 280.



pose and was warmly welcomed in Rome by the Hon. John P. Stockton, U. S. minister to the Vatican, who appointed him to take charge of the services at the legation. Such an appointment was obviously important, for only under the protection of a foreign legation were schismatic services tolerated in Rome. On Sunday, November 20, 1859, the first service was held at the legation.

There was at first no thought of organizing a parish, but this action was precipitated by the arrival in Rome of a missionary of the American and Foreign Christian Union, who claimed, as the agent of that society (which was chiefly Methodist, I believe), the right to conduct the services at the legation. To deal with this emergency, a meeting of American citizens of various denominations was held on Monday, November 22, and decided to organize an Episcopal Church with the aid of the Rev. Mr. Langdon. On the Saturday following, a general meeting of Americans ratified this action and effected an organization by electing vestrymen. They adopted the name of Grace Church—rather unfortunately, because in Italy the word grace is associated especially with the Virgin Mary. The next day, services were held again in the legation, which was then housed in Palazzo Bernini on the Corso. But during the following week the church followed the legation to Palazzo Simonetti further along on the Corso. On December 2nd, the vestry met for the first time and elected the Rev. Dr. Langdon rector.

On February 11th of the following year (1860), a petition addressed to the Rt. Rev. T. C. Brownell, bishop of Connecticut, who was then the presiding bishop, asked that "the Parish of Grace Church in the city of Rome, Italy, should be received under the authority of the General Convention and recognized as a part of the Protestant Episcopal Church." A favorable reply to this petition was received in April, after two other letters to the same effect had been sent but had been suppressed by the papal censor. The vestry minutes for that year close with a special meeting on April 23rd, and there are no other entries before December 30th, 1863.

The Civil War of course affected our church in Rome. Yet in November, 1860, Dr. Langdon began to hold services in Palazzo Lazzano, to which the legation had moved, and continued to hold them there till the beginning of May, 1861. Soon after that, Dr. Langdon and the U. S. minister, Mr. Stockton, returned to America, and services in Rome were suspended until the summer of 1862, when the Rev. Dr. C. M. Butler arrived in Rome with a commission from Bishop George Burgess, to whom the presiding bishop had delegated the oversight of our church in Rome.

For a while our church was peripatetic because the American ministers were so transient that some of them settled in no apartment. In October, Dr. Butler gathered a congregation in Freeborn's banking house and in various private dwellings, until Christmas, when the new minister, Mr. R. M. Blatchford, arrived and took an apartment in the Hotel de Russie. In spite of these many adversities the congregation often numbered one hundred. But in the autumn the U. S. minister departed, and until the arrival of his successor services were held not more often than twice in the same private apartment of one American or another. The attempt was made to find a resting place in a hired hall, with the hope that the shield of the legation or the consulate would protect it; but Dr. Butler was admonished that no such thing would be permitted.

The new minister, General Rufus King, arrived in December of 1863, and on the 28th of that month the American Church was revived by the election of a full vestry and the formal appointment of Dr. Butler as rector. At that time the number of attendants often numbered two hundred. During that winter persistent efforts were made to rent a room outside the Porto del Popolo; but they were frustrated by the papal government, and Dr. Butler, unwilling to remain in the position of chaplain to the legation, resigned in May, 1864, to become professor of ecclesiastical history in the Philadelphia Divinity School.

With this the life of Grace Church was suspended for a year. For, during the winter of 1864, 65, the Rev. Dr. Van Nest, a Dutch Reformed minister, maintained religious services in the legation, by appointment, doubtless, of the U. S. minister, and not of the vestry.

But the vestry was revived by Bishop Kip of California, who visited Rome in May of 1865, and at a meeting held in the legation the Rev. Dr. Theodore B. Lyman was elected rector. He accepted and began to hold services the following November in Palazzo Salviati, which then housed the American legation. However, in the autumn of 1866 the owner of the palace refused to renew the lease of the apartment occupied by the American minister unless these services were discontinued. Then Grace Church took the bold step of renting a large apartment in Vicolo d'Aliberti, 12, and during the winter of 1866/67 the papal government affected to ignore what was well known by its police, who were there every Sunday to regulate the carriages which crowded the narrow street.

But in the spring Dr. Lyman was informed by the authorities that this could not go on, that he must either return to the legation or occupy the very building outside the Porto del Popolo which Dr. Butler had been forbidden to rent. In this same position outside the walls, the English and the Scotch churches worshiped. The building offered to us was a granary, but by the expenditure of some \$3,000, which Dr. Lyman per-

sonally guaranteed but which was soon raised by subscription, the big room was transformed into a seemly house of worship capable of containing five hundred people.

Here Dr. Lyman ministered for two years, until 1869, when he returned to America, where in 1881 he was made bishop of North Carolina; and here Dr. Robert J. Nevin, succeeding in the autumn of the same year, began his notable ministry of 37 years, continuing to use the old granary until the new Church of St. Paul was consecrated in 1876. It was thus the home of the congregation for nearly ten years.

It happened that Nevin, while he was still a deacon and while visiting Rome in search of health during the winter of 1867/68, was put in charge of Grace Church for a couple of months by Bishop Joseph C. Talbot of Indiana, who was taking Dr. Lyman's place while he was absent for a while in America. But for this, it is not likely that Dr. Nevin would have returned to Rome as rector. He did return after a brief ministry at the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Before entering the ministry he had done gallant service as major of artillery in the Civil War. It is not easy to imagine another parish for which he was so eminently fitted or any other which would have fitted him so well.

#### THE BUILDING OF ST. PAUL'S WITHIN-THE-WALLS

Dr. Nevin came to Rome at a critical moment. Our legation at the papal court had already been withdrawn as an expression of American sympathy for the aspirations of the young Kingdom of Italy. Not many months after his arrival, the Vatican Council was opened, and before the year was over Rome had ceased to be a papal city.

In the new capital of Italy, our Church was welcome. Not only were we permitted to build within the walls, but we were encouraged to build nobly, so as to display to advantage the character of "the Reformed Catholic Church of America," as Bishop Littlejohn of Long Island preferred to call it in the sermon he preached at the consecration of the new building.

Dr. Nevin took prompt and full advantage of the opportunity. Not two weeks had elapsed after the taking of Rome before the vestry "resolved to appeal to the congregation and to the friends of the chapel at home for a sum not less than \$100,000" for the building of a church.

This was a bold undertaking, and of course the brunt of the task was borne by the rector. But before Dr. Nevin's death more than three times this amount had been raised, and something like \$135,000 had been spent before 1886 when the church was consecrated, although at that

date the building had not yet been adorned with the mosaics which are its chief glory. The campanile was lacking, and the rectory had not been begun.

The building of this church gave Nevin an opportunity to drop the unfortunate title, Grace Church, and he had reason to pride himself upon the new name which was adopted, St. Paul's Within the Walls, which draws attention to the fact that the great Apostle to the Gentiles was otherwise honored only outside the walls by the great basilica erected over his tomb. The point is plainly polemical, but as a complaint against the Roman Church for its neglect of St. Paul, it is more specious than real. For the Basilica of St. Peter, too, was originally outside the walls, and the glamor of both these Apostolic *martyria* defied competition. There is only one church within the old walls which bears the name of Peter, namely, S. Pietro in Vincoli, erected in a place where St. Peter was supposed to have been imprisoned; but to match that there is S. Paolo alla Regola, marking the place where St. Paul is supposed to have taught.

The change of name was made towards the end of the year 1871, when Bishop Stevens was making a visitation. Early in the following year (May 9), the first charter was granted by the State of New York (amended in 1873) lodging the property in a corporation of seven trustees, who, along with the bishop and the vestry, have a voice in the election of a rector.

The ground on which the church and the rectory now stand was obtained in the spring of 1872 for the equivalent of \$18,500, not a fifth of what it is worth now. It was bought from a deputy to the Italian Parliament by the name of Calvo, who had acquired it from Monsignor de Merode, lately papal minister of war, who in his turn had purchased it from the Barberini nuns, who for centuries had possessed it as part of their vineyard. The nuns sold it for \$1,230, so that in the course of these transfers the price had been raised by fifteen hundred per cent. For all that, it was a fortunate investment for us.

Nevin was sagacious enough to anticipate that the Via Nazionale, which then existed only on the city plan, must become one of the principal thoroughfares of Rome, inasmuch as it was designed to connect the Piazza Venezia with the new railway terminal. This street, in fact, has now become more frequented, and therefore far more noisy, than one could wish it to be.

Dr. Nevin displayed the same foresight some years later when Bishop Henry Potter took charge of our church in Rome and left his friend in New York to act as his "commissary" on the board which had the responsibility of selecting the site of the proposed Cathedral of St. John

the Divine. In that capacity Nevin was able to sway the decision in favor of Morningside Heights, which seemed then so remote that not many believed the city would ever spread so far.

On November 5, 1872, Nevin broke ground for the foundation of the building—which, to his dismay, had to be carried down through thirty to fifty feet of "loose soil, the accumulation of repeated overthrows and centuries of decay," before reaching, not live rock, but ruins of the age of Nero. Some of the objects now in the church garden were found in making these excavations; but the large oil jar now conspicuous in the garden was found under the rectory, along with two others (indicating an oil shop) which are now in America, one on Broadway in front of Grace Church rectory, the other in the Twombly villa at Newport, which once belonged to Miss Catherine Lorillard Wolfe.

The cornerstone was laid with due ceremony on January 25, 1873, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. The designs for the church, as afterwards for the rectory, were made by George Edmund Street, the most eminent architect of his day in England, who subsequently designed our church in Paris and the British church in Rome. The supervising engineer was Rudolfo Lanciani, afterwards famous as archaeologist and writer. Mr. Street found inspiration for his design in the Church of St. Zeno Maggiore at Verona, a thirteenth century church in the Lombard style, showing some Gothic influence which Street accentuated by introducing pointed arches.

### THE IMPRESSIVE INTERIOR

He created here a structure which was impressive as seen from within and from without, but especially from within, after the mosaics were completed: first, those covering the east wall, which Burne-Jones because of his friendship for the architect was persuaded to design; and later, in my time, those which George Breck designed for the west wall and the facade.

The seventeen stained-glass windows under the side aisles, depicting the story of St. Paul, were made by Clayton and Bell. All of them were given as memorials; but Nevin allowed no gift to interfere with the consistent plan he proposed for the decoration of his church. Perhaps in our Communion there is no other example of such consistency. And although we have greater and more costly churches, there is none I have seen that exhibits such a perfection of art. To complete the decoration of this church, nothing remains to be done but to adorn the clerestory walls with pictures drawn from the Gospel narrative. The windows in the clerestory must always remain without color to give

abundant light to the church and to enhance the color values of the mosaics.

The choir and sanctuary are protected by admirable chancels of colored marble flanked by marble ambons. The bishop's throne was properly placed behind the altar, as it is in all the Roman basilicas; but, incongruously, the altar is built with a retable so that the priest, if he would, cannot stand behind it in celebrating the Eucharist, and the bishop, if he were to sit in the marble throne, would not be visible to the congregation.

The little book (143 pages) I wrote twenty-four years ago described this church to people who knew it by sight, yet it was accompanied by sixteen full-page illustrations. Since no illustrations accompany this article, which is written chiefly for people who do not know the church, I must say something about the character of the mosaics which adorn it. They are worthy of attention because nothing comparable has been produced since the Middle Ages.

The four great mosaics which cover the east end were designed by Burne-Jones in the early Byzantine manner of the fifth century, but with a difference which is very characteristic of him and very congenial to me. Burne-Jones and William Morris worked together over the cartoons in London, and Alma-Tadema carried their instructions to the artisans in Venice.

In the half-dome of the apse, Christ is enthroned in the New Jerusalem, a youthful and imperial figure, accompanied by archangels. Below this, on the perpendicular wall of the apse, the Church Militant is represented by processions of warrior saints, of virgins and of ascetics, which converge towards a domed church, in front of which the Church Fathers stand with St. Paul in the midst of them. On the so-called triumphal arch in front of the apse, the Annunciation is depicted in terms of an Eastern tradition, which represents that Mary had gone outside the town to draw water when the angel descended through the sunset sky to deliver his message. Behind this, the apsidal arch is hidden until one had advanced half way up the aisle and discovers the beautiful figure of Christ, depicted as the ideal man (*Ecce homo!*), displayed in front of the golden Tree of Life, lifted up on high and with outstretched arms, but without signs of suffering. On either side stand Adam and Eve, representing all mankind by their respective labors, as the Latin inscription indicates: "In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer. I have overcome the world."

The three lofty mosaics were given by Mr. Junius S. Morgan and Mrs. Hickson Field. The expense of the mosaic on the lower wall, which had been begun by Dr. Nevin shortly before his death and on his own



responsibility, was met in large part by his nephews and heirs, Francis and Nevin Sayre.

The mosaics on the west wall are in two sections: in the ample field around the rose-window, the Creation is depicted, the habitable world being represented by the towns of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, traditionally associated with the Church from among the Jews and the Church from among the Gentiles. In the lower zone, which could be treated as a unit in spite of three marble columns that partly interrupt it, we have the visit of the Magi and the shepherds to the stable at Bethlehem.

These mosaics were given jointly by Mr. J. P. Morgan and Mr. W. H. Harriman, who had been friends of this church from the beginning. They were designed by George W. Breck, who had been a fellow-student of mine in Rome and was afterwards director of the American Academy.

Breck designed also the mosaics on the facade: the four beasts which symbolize the Evangelists around the rose-window; and a picture above the door which represents St. Paul as a prisoner in Rome. The Latin inscription under this picture quotes the irenical words of St. Paul in Philippians 1:18, "What then? only that in every way, whether in pre-ence or in truth, Christ is proclaimed; and therein I rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."

I may remark here by the way that, though it was perhaps impossible in Nevin's day for us to live in concord and good understanding with the clergy of the Church of Rome, this is not very difficult now—especially in Rome, where our Church might now be regarded as a friendly embassy, rather than as a listening-post in the enemy's country. These mosaics were given after the death of his wife by my friend, Daniel B. Fearing, who had been my parishioner also at Newport.

It would not be appropriate to speak here of all the works of art which adorn our church in Rome; nor need I describe the magnificence of the rectory, a house of twenty-eight rooms which Nevin, a bachelor, built because he had a passion for building and knew how to build well, leaving to me, to my embarrassment, a house partly unfinished and completely unfurnished. Nor need I recount the names even of the principal donors which I piously inscribed in letters of silver upon a tablet of bronze, as the diptych of our church, a book of remembrance.

But perhaps I should say something to satisfy the legitimate curiosity of those who may wonder how so much money could be raised in Rome during the latter part of the nineteenth century. In the first place, Rome is Rome. There is no place like it, and it was more attractive then than

now. Besides the artist colony, which was strongly attracted to Rome, many wealthy American families were living there, and many more sojourned there for a winter.

It may be remarked also that a spirit of hostility to the Church of Rome recruited in that day more subscribers to our Church than it would today. Nevin used a significant phrase at the end of his book, where he assumes that all who had given to our Church were "interested in the recovery of Italy to the Christian faith." Not many would use such a phrase today. But it must be admitted that the animosity it reveals is explained, if not justified, by the scurrilous abuse heaped upon Protestantism by the official Vatican press at the time of the consecration of our Church.

Moreover, Nevin's close friendship with Henry C. Potter opened up to him immense resources in the congregation of Grace Church, New York, of which Potter was rector before he became bishop coadjutor of New York in 1883. In particular, Miss Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, who was the greatest benefactor of Grace Church, New York, was the most conspicuous giver to our Church in Rome. She built the splendid campanile in memory of her father and furnished most of the money needed for the rectory. For this reason Potter and Nevin, who were suckled by the wolf, were sometimes called Romulus and Remus.

### BELLS AND ORGAN

Speaking of the campanile, I may remark that the carillon of twenty-three bells, which was cast in the celebrated foundry of Severin Van Aerschodt in Louvain, was given by Mr. Thomas Messenger of Brooklyn. The petitions of the Lord's Prayer, the articles of the Apostles' Creed, and the phrases of the Gloria, are distributed among the smaller bells; but on the great bell, weighing nearly three-quarters of a ton, are moulded the words of St. Paul (2 Tim. 2:9), *Verbum Dei non est alligatum*. The choice of this text was evidently prompted by a polemical animus against the Church of Rome—though one might have reflected that the English version of these words, "But the word of God is not bound," will recall John Bunyan's protest against the Church of England, when for twelve years he was kept in prison because he persisted in preaching the Gospel.

It may perhaps be doubted whether the performance of hymns by a chime of bells is a thing of beauty; but in Italy, where no such thing had ever been heard, it provoked much interest and admiration. Many years ago, when Humbert, the last king of Italy, was a little boy, and the



royal family still lived in the Quirinal Palace, the children were accustomed to go into the garden to hear our bells on Sunday mornings, and when they heard the music of a hymn, which had been taught them in French by their Waldensian nurses, they sang it together. The little prince listened in vain for his favorite hymn, "Pull for the shore, sailor, pull for the shore," and I had a message from the Quirinal begging me to have it played—which we therefore did from time to time.

Speaking of music, I may remark that Nevin was proud of having the largest and best organ in Rome. It was built by the American firm of Roosevelt. When a larger organ was built in the French Church, S. Luigi dei Francesi, and Leo XIII had put larger and better organs in the Lateran Basilica and in Sta. Maria Maggiore, Nevin, not to be outdone, commissioned a Frenchman to enlarge our organ during the summer of 1899.

When I came to Rome as a student in the autumn of that year and had charge of the Church during Nevin's prolonged absence in America, I found that the Frenchman had taken the organ apart, but was unable to put it together again. He stood wringing his hands among the pipes which were scattered in the side aisles. On his return to Rome, Nevin discovered that the Frenchman could work efficiently only when he was drinking champagne. This of course was then bountifully provided; but, alas, the poor man died before he could put Humpty Dumpty together again. A German was then engaged to do this job; but, though he put all the pipes in place, he never succeeded in making the thing work, and when I came to Rome in 1907, we had to rely upon a melodion for a couple of years, until the old organ was rebuilt and enlarged by Paul Goll of Lucerne, regardless of expense.

#### THE CONSECRATION OF THE CHURCH

I return to the year 1886 when the church was consecrated. This was done with extraordinary pomp on March 25th, the feast of the Annunciation, by Dr. A. N. Littlejohn, bishop of Long Island, who at that time was in charge of the European congregations of the American Episcopal Church. I do not know how Dr. Nevin managed to get so many representative churchmen to come to Rome for this occasion. The primus of Scotland, Dr. Robert Eden, bishop of Moray and Ross, was on his way to Rome when he was stopped by illness; and Dr. Howson, dean of Chester, was at the last moment hindered from starting. But England was represented by the bishop of Gibraltar, the bishop of Peterborough, and by nine presbyters, some of whom were sojourning in Rome. Ireland was represented by its primate, the bishop of Down and Connor, by the Rev. Lord Plunket, and by two other presbyters.

From the United States, beside Bishop Littlejohn, came Bishop William Hobart Hare of blessed memory, Bishop Henry C. Potter, and five American presbyters. A deacon was ordained on this occasion.

The feast of the Annunciation fell upon a Saturday, and the church, which accommodates easily 700 people, is said to have been full. Entrance could be obtained only by tickets, which were given to all American and British citizens, to officials of the state and of the city, to diplomats, to members of the House of Deputies, and to such liberal members of the Italian aristocracy as felt free to come. The consecration of the Church was followed by a celebration of the Holy Communion, and, deplorable to relate, Bishop Littlejohn preached for two hours! I fear that not all of his audience had seats.

I do not know how large was the attendance on the seven days following, on every one of which there was a sermon. On Sunday it was preached by the bishop of Peterborough, on Monday by the bishop of Gibraltar, on Tuesday by the Rev. Lord Plunket, on Wednesday by Bishop Henry C. Potter, on Thursday by Bishop Hare, on Friday by the Rev. Stopford Brooke, who took the place of the dean of Chester, on Saturday, when there was an ordination, by Dr. Nevin, who took the place of the primus of Scotland. All of these sermons were published by Dr. Nevin in the book I have mentioned, and it is a relief to see that none was immoderately long, though in my judgment only the sermons of Bishop Hare and Stopford Brooke are moderately interesting.

#### PROBLEMS OF MUSIC AND CHOIR

Dr. S. P. Tuckerman was to have been in charge of the music, but when he was prevented from coming, he prevailed upon his friend, Dr. E. G. Monk, organist of York Minster, to take his place, and the celebrated Dr. Monk spent two months training a volunteer choir. His presence had lasting significance for our Church in Rome, where we always kept in touch with the organists of York, and several times we were supplied by them with able organists. I remember gratefully that William I. Green, assistant organist at York, came to us early in my ministry and remained till nearly the end of it. I cannot well imagine how I could have gotten along without him, for with him I was assured of having always a good choir of men and boys. For more than twenty years, Mr. Green has been in America as organist of St. Joseph's Episcopal Church in Detroit.

It is not out of place in a historical sketch to mention a problem which historically has always proven difficult in our churches abroad

and often insoluble. I mean the problem of the choir. To this there is no solution, unless a church is able to put aside enough money to secure a competent choirmaster. Even then there are difficulties, if the boys of the choir have to be recruited from a foreign population and taught to sing in our language. In Rome, our boys were drawn at first from our neighborhood, which was within the big parish of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, without encountering any opposition from the rector, with whom I took pains to be on friendly terms, and who therefore encouraged his acolytes to come to us. Many of these boys profited by the little English they learned, since some knowledge of this language is required in the posts they subsequently sought. But later we found it convenient to draw our boys from an orphan asylum, first from a Waldensian home, and then from a Baptist. It does not cost much to support an orphan asylum of some twenty boys, the majority of whom, being Italians, may be expected to sing.

World War I came just in time to thwart the more ambitious project I had formed of establishing a choir school, which would give an opportunity of higher learning to hopeful boys chosen from the mountain towns of Latium. Because this plan was not carried through, our Church in Rome remains without any considerable endowment for music although endowments for other and even for general purposes now amount to something over \$80,000, owing to Nevin's activity and mine.

### THE FUTURE OF OUR EUROPEAN CHURCHES

It is not possible now to foresee what will be the fate of our European churches. I do not know if even their histories are anywhere recorded. The church in Geneva, though it is not well housed, it now more active than any other; the church in Rome is more useful under its present pastor than one could expect; the church in Nice, though it has not many attendants, possesses an endowment for music which in the present emergency can be used for the support of a chaplain; the church in Paris will of course be supported in one way or another; but the beautiful church and rectory in Dresden were destroyed during the war; and the church in Munich never possessed a house of worship.

Among the English chaplaincies, which are scattered all over the Continent, many, if they are open at all, are supported chiefly by Americans, but they have not been transferred to the jurisdiction of an American bishop, and we could hardly find now enough American priests to man them. The future of the English chaplaincies is obscure.

## SAINT MARY'S HALL, FARIBAULT, MINNESOTA

By James M. L. Cooley\*

**A**T the time of the founding of the "Bishop Seabury University"<sup>1</sup> in Faribault, Minnesota, it was the intention of Dr. James Lloyd Breck,<sup>2</sup> its founder, to include a school for young ladies, and in the very beginning such a school was started as a companion to the school for boys. This was in 1858. In a few years, however, the rise of the public schools made quite unnecessary the continuation of these two educational institutions; and while Dr. Breck insisted on maintaining the Grammar School for boys mainly as a feeder to the College (which never materialized) and to the Divinity School, the urgent need for a "Female Seminary" disappeared, although it was always in Dr. Breck's plan to revive it at the earliest possible moment.

Dr. Breck was, however, a busy man. Preaching regularly in the mission chapel in Faribault and in neighboring towns, often walking fifteen to eighteen miles to keep an appointment,<sup>3</sup> supervising the preaching assignments of other clergy on his Divinity School staff, supervising and teaching in the Divinity and Grammar Schools, and making constant appeals for funds necessary to maintain his work, left him little time or energy to devote to the establishment and proper functioning of a school for girls.

The lack of attention to the education of young womanhood was the chief concern of Bishop Whipple<sup>4</sup> on his arrival in the diocese in 1859. Knowing Dr. Breck's plan, the bishop postponed action until, in 1866,

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<sup>1</sup>See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol. 17 (Sept., 1948), p. 251.

<sup>2</sup>JAMES LLOYD BRECK—born at Philadelphia June 27, 1818. Educated at Flushing Institute and University of Pennsylvania, 1838. General Theological Seminary, 1841. Deacon, 1841, Bp. Onderdonk. Priest, 1842, Bp. Kemper. Missionary, Wisconsin, 1841-50; established Nashotah Seminary; missionary, Minnesota, 1850-67, Indian work and schools in Faribault; 1867-76, pioneer work in California. Married (1) 1855, Jane Maria Mills (d. 1862); (2) 1864, Sarah Styles. He died March 30, 1876. [*Dictionary of American Biography*; and *Life of Dr. Breck*.]

<sup>3</sup>*Life of Dr. Breck*, p. 362 et al.

<sup>4</sup>HENRY BENJAMIN WHIPPLE—born in Adams, New York, February 15, 1822; studies interrupted by illness; theology under the Rev. W. D. Wilson, Cornell University; deacon 1849, priest 1850, both by Bp. DeLancey; married (1) 1842, Cornelia Wright (d. 1890), (2) 1896 Evangeline (Marss) Simpson; Zion Church, Rome, New York, 1849-1856; Holy Communion, Chicago, 1856-59; consecrated first bishop of Minnesota, St. James' Church, Richmond, Virginia, October 13, 1859. Died September 16, 1901. [*Cooley Scrapbook*.]

he realized that, for lack of money and facilities, the prospect of including a girls' school in the Bishop Seabury Mission was exceedingly dim, and decided to go ahead on his own initiative. In the bishop's own words:

"While returning home a friend said to me: 'Do you know, Bishop, that some of your church girls have entered convent schools?' My dear wife,<sup>5</sup> now in Paradise, was sitting by my side, and said: 'You know what that means?' I answered sadly, 'Yes, but what can I do? I have a Divinity School without one dollar of endowment. Our boys' school has no buildings, and I have not one dollar of means.' With a woman's faith she said: 'We can open it in our home. I will be the house-mother. We shall surely succeed.' . . . I borrowed money to build an addition to my home, and we received the first daughters of St. Mary's Hall."<sup>6</sup>

As early as January, 1866, Dr. Breck had written his brother Charles that "the girls' boarding school is expected to be opened next summer,"<sup>7</sup> and in July the following notice appeared in the local newspaper:

LADIES' SEMINARY—A large addition has been attached to the residence of Bishop WHIPPLE, in this town, which, as we learn is to be converted into a Seminary for young ladies. This institution is to be under the personal supervision of the Bishop, and will be conducted upon a similar plan to the widely known school of Bishop DOANE,<sup>8</sup> at St. Mary's Hall, Burlington, N. J.<sup>9</sup>

This was followed in the November 7 edition of the same paper by:

ST. MARY'S HALL—This Young Ladies' Seminary which has been instituted by Bishop WHIPPLE in this place, opened

<sup>5</sup>CORNELIA WRIGHT WHIPPLE—daughter of the Hon. Benjamin Wright, was born in Adams, New York. Educated at Mrs. Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary. Taught school several years in South Carolina and in 1842 married Henry B. Whipple, at the time in business. She persuaded him to take orders. She was the devoted friend, all her life, of the poor, the needy and the suffering. She died July 16, 1890, "after a painful illness of eight months, the result of a railroad accident which occurred in the south last fall." She and the bishop had five children. [*Faribault Republican*, July 16 and July 23, 1890.]

<sup>6</sup>Tanner, G. C., *History of the Diocese of Minnesota*, p. 414.

<sup>7</sup>*Life of Dr. Breck*, p. 425.

<sup>8</sup>GEORGE WASHINGTON DOANE—born Trenton, N. J., May 27, 1799. Union College, 1818. General Seminary. Deacon 1821, priest 1823, both by Bp. Hobart. Married Eliza Green (Callahan) Perkins, 1829. Assistant, Trinity, New York, 1821-24; professor, Trinity College, Hartford, 1824-28; assistant and rector, Trinity Church, Boston, 1828-32. Consecrated bishop of New Jersey, Oct. 31, 1832, and became rector, St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J. D. D., Trinity and Columbia; LL.D., St. John's College, Md. Founded St. Mary's Hall for Girls, Burlington, N. J. Died April 25, 1859. [*Cooley Scrapbook*.]

<sup>9</sup>*Faribault Central Republican*, July 11, 1866.

for the reception of pupils on Thursday last.<sup>10</sup> The present accommodations will admit of but twenty-five, and we understand that this limit was nearly attained at the opening of the School. The School will be under the immediate personal supervision of Bishop WHIPPLE, into whose family the young ladies are received, and the educational advantages offered are of the best. The following are the officers and teachers of the institution: Rt. Rev. H. B. WHIPPLE, D. D., Rector; Rev. LEONARD J. MILLS, A. M., Chaplain and instructor in Mathematics; Miss S. P. DARLINGTON, Teacher of French, German and Mathematics; Miss JANETTE CAMPBELL, Teacher of the English branches; Miss SARAH J. SMITH, Teacher of Music; J. W. DANIELS, M. D., Attending Physician.<sup>11</sup>

Thus started Bishop Whipple's "venture of faith," which was amply justified from the start. Applications for admission increased in such a way that annual additions and improvements had to be made until the bishop's house, originally a dwelling on the corner, covered half a city square. The story of the growth of St. Mary's in its early years can best be described by the following excerpts from the local press:

The spirit in which it [St. Mary's Hall] has been instituted is perhaps best set forth in the following extract from the pages of the first catalogue: "The end we seek is to train up girls to be all that daughters, wives and mothers ought to be, to cultivate the mind and heart, to educate for time and eternity. The course of study is thorough, the discipline is strict, the motive is love, the end is self control in the fear of God. Our teachers are Christian women; our school is the Bishop's home. We have one table, one altar, one household."

The school thus organized and conducted, bids fair to prove a complete success. The number of pupils, drawn from all parts of the state, has steadily increased, necessitating repeated enlargement of the building in which the Bishop and his family reside, for their accommodation. An addition has been completed during the recess, which gives to the institution now a capacity of accommodating 45 scholars, besides 20 day scholars.

A recent visit furnished us evidence that the building is favorably designed for the purpose for which it is employed. A large well-lighted room upon the ground floor is used for the study room. The walls of this room are hung with photographic views of scenes in the Holy Land, which serve a useful as well as ornamental purpose in illustrating Scriptural History. There are five Recitation Rooms, and an equal number of Music Rooms, each of the latter being provided with a first class piano. A distinctive and pleasant feature of all these rooms is the adornment of the walls with pictures and specimens

<sup>10</sup>All Saints' Day, 1866.

<sup>11</sup>Faribault Central Republican, Nov. 7, 1867.



of the fine arts, lending to them an air of homelike comfort which it is difficult to realize within bare white walls, while at the same time tending to refine and cultivate the taste of the pupil. The Bishop's family, as he designates them—all the inmates of his household sustaining for the time this relation—dine in common in a spacious and well-lighted dining hall upon the lower floor. A room is devoted to recreation, in which is contained a cabinet of rare and ancient coins and curiosities, many of which were obtained by the Bishop while on his excursion to the Holy Land. There is another cabinet of stuffed birds, which it is designed to enlarge as occasion offers, to include all the specimens known to our State. The dormitories on the second floor are three in number, the beds being arranged in alcoves, of which one is assigned to each pupil, and each snug little niche is also provided with a table, mirror, and conveniences for hanging clothing. Neatness and order preside over this department. The partitions of the alcoves rise but about six feet, thus allowing of a free circulation of air.<sup>11-a</sup> Patent ventilators connect with each room of the building, preserving a constant circulation of fresh air. The rooms of the lady teachers adjoin the dormitories, enabling them to preserve order.

. . . The grounds of St. Mary's Hall at present comprise six lots,<sup>12</sup> two having been lately purchased, which gives to the institution the entire front of the block on Main Street. A further addition is in contemplation. These grounds, when graded and laid out in accordance with the principles of landscape gardening, will not only add greatly to the advantages of the institution, but constitute a most attractive feature of our town.

In conclusion we would say that the Bishop's School supplies a want generally realized—an institution where young girls can receive a high educational training without the evils too frequently lurking in ordinary boarding schools—and he is entitled to the good wishes of all classes, irrespective of denominational affinities, in the prosecution of his work.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11-a</sup>Miss Kate Cole, St. Mary's, '77, of Faribault, describes the dormitory of the seventies as a long row of cubicles separated from the corridor only by a curtain. Each cubicle was very small, large enough to contain only a single bed, washstand and dresser. In the evenings, after call to quarters, the girls took their mugs from their washstands, lined up in the corridor, and from a large wooden bucket at the end of the corridor received a dipper-full of water for teeth-washing purposes. Frequently the contents of the mug went over the partition onto the bed of the occupant of the next cubicle. On the more serious side was the custom on Sunday evenings, before call to quarters, of passing before the bishop seated at the teacher's desk in the large schoolroom, and answering some question on the Bible, the Prayer Book, the catechism, or some other phase of religious education. In the absence of the bishop, the chaplain presided.

<sup>12</sup>The bishop bought ten lots eventually at a total cost of \$7,882.50. In 1873, all but one of these were deeded to St. Mary's trustees for \$15,000. [*The Record Book*.]

<sup>13</sup>*Central Republican*, Oct. 7, 1868.

And three years later,

ST. MARY'S HALL—A large number of our citizens availed themselves of the invitation extended by Bishop Whipple and wife, to visit St. Mary's Hall on Monday evening last, and inspect the improvements that have been made. The guests were shown through the extensive range of rooms, and like ourselves, we presume, were agreeably surprised to find the whole so excellently adapted to the purpose for which the building is used. The latest additions consist in the extension of the building on the side of Sixth Street, making a fine Library room and Conservatory below, and some large chambers above, while an entirely new building 34 by 52 feet square has been erected on the north side. In the latter, on the ground floor, are four new recitation rooms, a parlor and library for the young ladies and a studio for drawing and painting. On the second floor is a large and very convenient dormitory fitted up with alcoves, with a wardrobe closet attached to each. This room is well-lighted, and great attention has been paid to ventilation. Apartments occupied by the teachers open into this room, facilitating the preservation of order and prompt aid in case of necessity. Among the features of interest inspected by the guests were the cabinet of coins, many of which were very ancient and rare, one of specimens in natural history, and one of Indian curiosities, the large telescope—a fine and costly one—and the many objects of art, comprising beautiful pictures, engravings and medallions with which the apartments were profusely ornamented. The additional rooms will suffice for the accommodation of twenty more pupils, and no doubt there will be found a necessity for them. St. Mary's Hall is a beautiful home, in which the associations are peculiarly adapted to elevate the mind and refine the taste, and where no effort is spared to train up the maidens committed to its charge to be all that a true woman should be.<sup>14</sup>

It was in 1872 that the bishop, pressed by his duties as the head of a widespread and rapidly growing diocese, and requiring more time for his work with the Indians, to whom he was intensely devoted, felt that St. Mary's was sufficiently established to turn it over to a board of trustees.<sup>15</sup> The legal incorporation was duly effected with the following men as trustees:<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup>*Central Republican*, Sept. 13, 1871.

<sup>15</sup>Another factor involved was that the growth of the school was crowding the bishop and his family out of their home. Previously, the diocese had authorized the construction of a see house in Faribault, and funds had been donated so that the foundation had been laid. The diocese, however, was unable to complete the work for lack of money, and the bishop finished the work on his own initiative. This new home, a spacious and well-appointed house across the street from the Cathedral, was finished in the fall of 1872, and the bishop moved his family there. [*Faribault Republican*, Nov. 13, 1872.]

<sup>16</sup>*St. Mary's Hall Register*, 1872.



Rt. Rev. H. B. Whipple, Faribault.  
 Hon. H. T. Welles, Minneapolis.  
 Hon. E. T. Wilder, Red Wing.  
 Hon. Winthrop Young, Minneapolis.  
 Hon. Gordon E. Cole, Faribault.  
 Hon. Lorenzo Allis, Esq., St. Paul.  
 Rev. E. R. Welles, D. D., Red Wing.  
 Rev. Edward Livermore, St. Peter.

The board was organized as follows:

President and Rector of the School—Rt. Rev. H. B. Whipple.

Treasurer—Mr. Charles H. Whipple, Faribault.

Secretary—Hon. Gordon E. Cole, Faribault.

In founding St. Mary's, the bishop was blessed with the help of three very devoted assistants. Mrs. Cornelia Wright Whipple, his wife, not only urged him to accomplish the task but gave her counsel and surveillance to the building necessary to accommodate the girls and, as house-mother, to the functioning of the school. As one reads what has been recorded of the early days of St. Mary's, it becomes more and more evident that, without her loving oversight and fostering care, the school would certainly not have had such a firm foundation for future growth.

Miss Sarah P. Darlington, St. Mary's first principal, was from Pennsylvania. She had come west for her health and was teaching in the mission school as a labor of love. The bishop says:

"She was deeply interested in our undertaking and consented to become the principal of the school. Miss Darlington was one of the most remarkable women I have ever known; a scholar possessing rare wisdom and deep piety, she was peculiarly fitted to mould the minds of the young."<sup>17</sup>

The third member of this coterie was the Rev. Dr. Leonard J. Mills. Of him the bishop writes:

[He] "had been an assistant of Bishop Kerfoot<sup>18</sup> in St. James's College which is a lineal descendant of the School of

<sup>17</sup>H. B. Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 189.

<sup>18</sup>JOHN BARRETT KERFOOT—born in Dublin, Ireland, Mar. 1, 1816. Came to America at age of 3. St. Paul's College, Flushing, L. I. Theology, under the Rev. Samuel Seabury, II. Deacon 1837, priest 1840, by Bp. B. T. Onderdonk. Married Eliza M. Anderson, 1842. Chaplain and assistant professor, St. Paul's College, 1837-42; president, St. James College, Hagerstown, Md., 1842-64; president, Trinity College, Hartford, 1864-66. Consecrated bp. of Pittsburgh in Trinity, Pittsburgh, Jan. 25, 1866. D. D., Columbia and Trinity. L. H. D., Cambridge, at Lambeth Conference, 1867. Died July 10, 1881. [*Cooley Scrapbook*.]

the sainted Muhlenberg<sup>19</sup> at Flushing. He was only with us six months before entering into rest,<sup>20</sup> but it was long enough to give us the traditions of these celebrated schools."<sup>21</sup>

Before continuing the historical narrative of St. Mary's Hall, it will be of interest to examine the working of the school in the early days. The first bulletin, issued in the summer of 1866, left to the parents the matter of clothing and other things to be brought from home with the simple statement that "Parents are requested to provide for simplicity in dress and a limited amount of pocket money." It was evident immediately that more specific instructions were necessary, and the catalogue for the following year added the following things to be brought from home: umbrella, overshoes, water-proof cloak; Bible, Prayer Book, a napkin ring, 6 napkins and 6 towels. To this list the 1870 catalogue added "2 yards of carpet for the alcove and an abundant supply of warm wrappings for the winter, as the young ladies are required to take a daily walk." It further stipulated that "outside clothing . . . should be precisely what would be worn at home. As few dresses as possible, and those plainly made . . ."

Further experience in the difficulty of educating the parents in the desires and requirements of the school brought forth an additional statement in the catalogue for the following year: "No expensive or useless articles of jewelry can be worn . . . Dresses of silk, silk poplin, or velvet, are positively prohibited. It is desired that the underclothing may be without ruffles, puffs, or any elaborate trimming."<sup>22</sup> This was apparently found to be a workable statement of what was wanted, for no changes occur for over twenty years, when we find added to the above list: "A simple white muslin dress for choral services; also a dress for gymnastic exercises—this dress must be of dark blue flannel, with a plain

<sup>19</sup>WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG—born Sept. 16, 1796, in Philadelphia. Baptized in Lutheran Church. University of Pennsylvania, 1815. Studied with Bp. White and the Rev. Jackson Kemper, later bp. of Wisconsin. Deacon 1817, priest 1820, by Bp. White. Assistant to Bp. White, 1817-20; St. James' Lancaster, Pa., 1820-26; St. George's, Flushing, L. I., N. Y., 1826-28. Founder and head of Flushing Institute, which he opened in 1828. Established St. Paul's College, 1838. A great schoolmaster. Visited England, 1843-46. Rector Church of the Holy Communion, New York City, 1846-58. Established Sisterhood of the Holy Communion, 1852, and St. Luke's Hospital, of which he was head until his death, April 8, 1877. [*Dictionary of American Biography*.]

<sup>20</sup>He died March 2, 1867, aged 30. His brethren of the clergy passed a resolution testifying to the "beauty of his Christian life" and the loss suffered by the cause of education, to which he seemed particularly adapted. "The successful opening and rich promise of St. Mary's Hall . . . are mainly due to him." [*Central Republican*, Mar. 6, 1867.]

<sup>21</sup>Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 189.

<sup>22</sup>Catalogue, 1871.

loose waist, and short plain skirt 10 inches from the floor; . . . 2 bags for soiled clothes, and a shoe bag."<sup>22</sup>

In 1920, the school ceased to provide as much for the students in the way of household articles and the following items were added to "things to bring from home": 4 sheets, 2 spreads, 4 pillow cases, 1 pair blankets, 1 extra blanket, 8 towels, and 2 bureau covers. No further changes have been made except for the adoption in 1929 of a school uniform: navy blue serge skirt to the knee, white overblouse, school tie, school blazer. Dresses for formal occasions are also permitted.

The following terms, payable semi-annually in advance, were announced in the first circular of 1866:

For Board, Washing, Lights, Fuel, Instruction in all the	
English Branches <sup>24</sup> and Latin .....	\$300.00
Instrumental Music .....	60.00
Use of piano .....	10.00
German and French .....	25.00
Medical Attention per year (optional) .....	5.00

These charges were fairly constant for some years except for the addition of "extras" as the curriculum was enlarged to include such things as elocution, bookkeeping, stenography, and dancing. In 1915, however, the tuition was increased to \$550.00 in order to absorb the extras which were not of an individual nature, such as private instruction in piano and voice. Another increase in 1924 put the tuition charge at \$850.00,<sup>25</sup> accompanied by a \$15.00 entrance fee.

There were four distinct grades set up for the classroom work: the Primary Department, offering spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, composition, drawing, music and French; the Junior Class, continuing the same studies with the addition of grammar, botany, German and Latin; the Middle Class, adding to the above algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, chemistry and painting; and the Senior Class, whose curriculum was elocution, rhetoric, English literature, algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, French, German, music, drawing, painting, Latin and composition.<sup>26</sup>

Some slight revisions in the above were made from time to time until 1900, when the setup was brought into line with modern practice—

<sup>22</sup>*Catalogue*, 1893. Two other notes from the catalogues are of interest. "Except at Christmas and Easter we request that no boxes be sent from home. Parents send us headache and dyspepsia by express. We cannot send them back; they stay to plague us." (1873.) "*Pupils will not be allowed to wear diamonds.*" (1890.)

<sup>24</sup>This evidently included mathematics, history, geography, etc.

<sup>25</sup>By comparison, the current rate (1950) is almost fifty per cent more.

<sup>26</sup>*Catalogue*, 1867.

seventh and eighth grades and the four years of High School. In 1912, "Domestic Art" was introduced with the following courses:

Model sewing—hems, seams, plackets, bands, etc.

Plain sewing—analysis of the making of a corset cover.

Dressmaking—simple waists, skirts, dresses.

Millinery.

The day's schedule was as follows:<sup>27</sup>

- 6:30 Rising bell
- 7:25 Roll call (Each pupil must answer to her name in the study)
- 7:30 Breakfast
- 8:30 Chapel
- 8:50-12:20 Classes
- 12:30 Dinner
- 1:30-3:30 Classes
- 3:30-5:00 Recreation period. Walking and games
- 6:00 Supper
- 7:00-8:15 Study
- 8:15-8:30 Bible hour
- 8:30 Chapel
- 9:00 Quarters
- 9:30 Retire

With a few minor changes the same schedule is in effect today.

The catalogue of 1867, for the year 1866, lists forty-nine pupils, of whom fifteen were from Faribault, two from Iowa, three from Connecticut, and the rest from Minnesota; nine teachers, including the principal and two professors from the Divinity School who had special classes. The enrollment increased gradually year by year (and the bishop's house expanded accordingly) until 1881 when there were 120 pupils, of whom forty-four were day pupils from Faribault, thirty-seven from elsewhere in Minnesota, and thirty-nine from other states including Wisconsin, Iowa, the Dakotas, Illinois, Michigan, Kansas, Montana, Mississippi, the District of Columbia and Manitoba; eleven teachers, and the principal.

The trustees now felt that the time had come for the school to acquire a more permanent and modern home in a more suitable location. The numerous additions which had been made to the original Whipple home were still not sufficient to care for the numbers wishing to enroll, and the school felt hemmed in by the town which was rapidly expanding. The trustees, therefore, purchased in 1881, for \$3,750.00, four blocks of land on the bluff across the river from the town. This, with the addition of another block given by two interested citizens of Faribault, made

<sup>27</sup>Catalogue, 1867.

a total of twelve acres of beautifully wooded land, an ideal site for the school.<sup>28</sup>

A very important day in the history of the school was the 19th of June, 1882, when the cornerstone of the new building was laid by Bishop Whipple, assisted by numerous clergymen, in the presence of the teachers and pupils of St. Mary's, the officers and cadets of Shattuck School, and a large crowd of townspeople. In the cornerstone were placed the following articles:

English Bible, Prayer Book, and Hymnal; Dacotah Prayer Book and Hymnal; Chippewa Prayer Book; Journal of the Diocese of Minnesota, 1881; convention addresses by the bishop; catalogues of St. Mary's Hall; catalogues of Shattuck School; catalogues of Seabury Divinity School; sermon of Bishop Whipple at the consecration of Shumway Memorial Chapel; the *Minnesota Missionary* for 1882; the *Churchman*; the *Episcopal Register*; the *Guardian*; the *Standard of the Cross*; the *Living Church*; the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*; the *St. Paul Globe*; the *Minneapolis Tribune*; the *St. Paul Dispatch*; the *Minneapolis Journal*; names of the President of the U. S. A. and Cabinet; names of the governor and state officers; names of the officers, principal, teachers, and pupils of St. Mary's Hall, officers and teachers of Shattuck School; names of the superintendents of the state institutions in Faribault; the *Faribault Democrat*; the *Faribault Republican*; history of the Church schools in Faribault; names of the architect and the contractor of the new St. Mary's Hall.<sup>29</sup>

Although not entirely finished, the building was ready for use at the opening of school, September 20, 1883. Of blue limestone, quarried locally, the building was 243 feet long by 44 feet wide, the ends projecting 28 feet east and west past the center of the building. There were two main stories, a large basement, and a roomy attic which could have been converted to dormitory space if needed, but was used for music and art studies. The basement, or ground floor, was for service purposes: dining hall, kitchen, pantries, store rooms, laundry, accommodations for servants, toilet rooms, steam heating and fuel rooms. Four flights of stairs communicated with the first floor in which were located the schoolroom, six recitation rooms, music rooms, two public parlors, one large students' parlor, library, museum and the matron's quarters. In the south wing the principal's quarters were in the east end, those of the chaplain in the west end.

<sup>28</sup>*Record Book*. This was increased later to about 16 acres by a gift from Mrs. Evangeline Whipple of a piece of land adjoining the school grounds on the south.

<sup>29</sup>*Faribault Democrat*, June 23, 1882.

The second story had accommodations for the pupils and faculty, each room having two good closets and clear, unobstructed, outside light. Large piazzas and balconies were built on the outside of the first and second floors which contributed to the architectural effect. Surmounting the building rose a turret which formed, with numerous secondary turrets at other points, a very striking group, observable for miles. The architecture has been described as scholastic gothic, medieval in tone.<sup>30</sup> It cost \$75,000.

It is odd that, in planning a building for a Church school which had been born and raised in a bishop's family and in whose daily life prayers and Bible study had a large part, no provision was made for a chapel. While still in town, proximity to the Cathedral made a chapel unnecessary, and daily prayers were said in the bishop's study. In the new building on the bluff, the schoolroom was so used, and the school attended the Cathedral on Sunday as it still does. In 1896, when Miss Ella F. Lawrence was obliged because of ill health to resign as head-mistress and Miss Caroline Wright Eells was chosen to succeed her, Miss Eells refused to come unless a chapel was provided. Accordingly, the parlor in the northwest corner of the building was transformed into a chapel and dedicated by Bishop Whipple to the service of Almighty God on September 17, 1896.<sup>31</sup>

This building was destined to serve St. Mary's for forty-one years and probably would be still in use had it not been that a stroke of lightning set fire to it in the early morning of August 5, 1924. The building was a total loss, although most of the contents was saved and the use of dynamite prevented the spread of the fire to the new gymnasium and power house which had just been completed to the north. The loss was covered by insurance to the extent of \$122,000.<sup>32</sup>

Coming so late in the summer, quick action was necessary in order to insure the opening of the school in the fall. Just ten days after the fire, it was announced that arrangements had been made whereby the two large buildings of Seabury Divinity School had been offered to St. Mary's for use during the following year.<sup>33</sup> This generous offer was gratefully accepted,<sup>34</sup> and St. Mary's spent the year 1924-25 on the Seabury campus.

Plans for a new building were immediately drawn and a campaign

<sup>30</sup>*Faribault Republican*, Sept. 19, 1883.

<sup>31</sup>*Record Book*.

<sup>32</sup>Such of the equipment as was saved was stored in the neighboring School for the Deaf.

<sup>33</sup>Circular of the Rector and Board of Trustees, Aug. 15, 1924, in *Davis Scrapbook*.

<sup>34</sup>The Seabury students were housed in one of the dormitories at Shattuck School.



started to raise the \$200,000 needed in addition to the insurance received from the old building. Of this \$125,000 was subscribed by friends of the school, the balance being raised by bonds which were retired fifteen years later.<sup>85</sup> The subscription list was headed by the Rev. Dr. Francis L. Palmer,<sup>86</sup> chaplain of St. Mary's at the time, and his wife who, before the fire was extinguished, offered \$5,000 toward a chapel for the new St. Mary's.<sup>87</sup>

The cornerstone was laid May 5, 1925,<sup>88</sup> and the new building was ready for occupancy in September of the same year. It is described by the architect as follows:

The new St. Mary's Hall occupies the site of the old building with the small Chapel to the south of the main structure. The building was designed in the Collegiate Gothic style, executed in local stone laid at random, the window openings trimmed with golden brown brick and the salient features of the design emphasized with Indiana limestone trimming. The roofs are steeply pitched and covered with slate of weathered green color. The design is picturesque rather than formal in type.

The new building is in fact a four story building having the ground floor approximately three feet below ground level. This story contains the service section of the building: . . . the main kitchen, a large cold storage room, a cook's pantry, a storeroom, a pastry room and a commodious dining room for the servants.

<sup>85</sup>*Record Book.*

<sup>86</sup>FRANCIS LESEURE PALMER—born Ft. Wayne, Indiana, Aug. 28, 1863. Amherst, B. A. 1885; M. A. 1902. Episcopal Theological School, B. D. 1892. Seabury, D. D. 1923. Deacon, 1892, Bp. Brooks; priest, 1893, Bp. Randolph. Married Elizabeth E. Paine, 1895. St. Paul's, Gardner, Mass., 1892-95; St. Paul's, Walla Walla, Wash., 1895-98; Ascension, Stillwater, Minn., 1900-10 and 1913-22; instructor, Seabury Div. School, 1910-13; in charge, St. John's, White Bear, Minn., 1913-16; professor, Seabury, 1922-33; chaplain, St. Mary's Hall, Faribault, 1922-26 and 1931-33. Retired, 1933. Registrar and historiographer, diocese of Minnesota, 1922-49. Died Mar. 18, 1949. [*Stowe's Clerical Directory.*]

<sup>87</sup>*Record Book.*

<sup>88</sup>Sealed in the cornerstone were the contents of the cornerstone of 1882 plus Dr. Tanner's *History of the Diocese, 1857-1907*; chaplain's Prayer Book; *Journal*, 68th annual council, diocese of Minnesota; rebuilding fund literature; *Mollies News*, 1922-23-24; Faribault telephone directory; catalogues of Shattuck, St. James, Seabury, Carleton College, St. Mary's Hall; periodicals: *The Church at Work*, Feb., 1924; *Minnesota Missionary*, Feb., 1925; March, 1925 (St. Mary's number); *Witness*, April 30, 1925; loose leaf current topics; newspaper clippings concerning the school; page from St. Paul *Sunday Pioneer Press*, May 3, 1925; stamp of the present day; school programs and circulars; invitation to commencement exercises, June 2, 1925; piece of lead cut out from box found in old cornerstone; history of golden chalice belonging to St. Mary's; account of laying of cornerstone of June 19, 1882; account of opening of same cornerstone; list of names of pupils and faculty of St. Mary's Hall, 1924-25. [*Faribault Daily News*, May 6, 1925.]

The main dining room occupies the entire southwest corner of this story. It is a room of fine proportions 35 by 58 feet . . . with a raised platform at the west end for the faculty. This room is separated from the kitchen by the general serving room. Directly across the hall from the serving room a small private dining room has been placed for the use of the French section and other occasional uses. The east end of the wing contains the science laboratory and its preparation room, a laboratory for the arts and crafts and an unassigned class room, together with a small, well-equipped kitchenette for the use of students.

The general service entrance to the building is on the north side opposite the gymnasium . . . The stairways, two in number and designed with an exceptionally easy rise, are located at either end of the building.

The entrance to the main building is in the center of the east front on the first floor. From the terraced loggia the vestibule enters directly into the main corridor. On either side of the vestibule are recessed alcoves with broad window seats and directly across the hall is the large community room or lounge. This room has a large bay window opening to the west, enclosing a paneled window seat. The dominating feature of this fine room is a fire place of cream-toned Winona stone in which the salient points of the design are enriched with carved bands of laurel and oak leaves.

The northerly half of this story is devoted exclusively to school room purposes. There are six completely equipped well-lighted class rooms, a large study hall seating 85 students, and a fine library completely surrounded with high book shelves. Adjoining the community room to the south there is a large room set apart for senior activities. This room has a fire place of stone and has been designed for use in conjunction with the community room as occasion demands. Across the corridor a small reception room has been provided and adjoining it a sitting room for the use of the teachers.

In the east end of the south wing, space is assigned to the business offices which include the general office with a fire-proof vault, a small office of the Secretary, and the private office of the Principal . . . The living quarters of the Principal occupy the east front of this wing and include a large living room, bedroom, and bath. The west end of the wing has ten bedrooms for the teaching staff.

On the second floor there are 28 double rooms and five three-bed rooms, a matron's room and the infirmary suite which includes a five-bed ward, a nurse's room and bath.

The third floor has in addition to 16 double rooms and one three-bed room, six piano practice rooms, two teachers' rooms and two studios for piano and vocal studies. The bedrooms in general are large well-lighted rooms with recessed lavatories in each room and separate closets for each student.

The buildings are of fireproof construction throughout . . . and heated from the power plant adjoining the gymnasium.<sup>39</sup>

The Bishop Whipple Memorial Chapel, erected "to the glory of God and in loving memory of Henry Benjamin Whipple and Cornelia Wright Whipple, his wife," is at the southern end of the building, and is entered through a cloister at the level of the landing of the south stairway, midway between the ground and first floors. It has a warm-toned brick wainscot surrounding the nave and sanctuary, with the trusses and woodwork of the roof exposed. The windows, originally of amber-tinted glass, are memorials to former faculty members and pupils of the school. Its seating capacity is about 140. The eight windows in the cloister are gifts of the classes of 1938 to 1945, and show allegorical figures representing music, art, drama, literature, science, language, physical education, and history. There are four other windows in the cloister doors, given by the classes of 1946 and 1947.<sup>40</sup>

The pipe organ, installed in 1932, is dedicated to Miss Darlington. The altar furnishings are all memorials to former chaplains except the bishop's chair, which was purchased by the school in memory of Bishop Edsall.<sup>41</sup> The memorial tablet on the north wall is inscribed:

IN THEIR HAPPY HOME  
IN THE YEAR 1866  
HENRY BENJAMIN WHIPPLE  
AND HIS WIFE  
CORNELIA WRIGHT WHIPPLE  
FOUNDED THIS SCHOOL  
AND SIXTY YEARS AFTER  
IN THE YEAR 1926  
THEIR CHILDREN  
AND THEIR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN  
AND THEIR FRIENDS INCLUDING  
MANY INDIANS  
HAVE BUILT THIS HOUSE OF GOD  
TO BE THROUGH THE GENERATIONS  
A SYMBOL OF LOVING GRATITUDE  
FOR THIS FOUNDATION

Above the entrance door, facing the cloister, is a mural executed in 1942 by Miss Stella Cole, '88. In old English lettering, with illuminated

<sup>39</sup>*Minnesota Missionary*, May, 1925. The gymnasium had been built only a few years previously. It is a large hall with a stage at the west end. It is used for games, dances, and as an auditorium for dramatic productions and commencement.

<sup>40</sup>*Record Book*.

capitals, in a semi-circular arrangement, is the eighth verse of the fourth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians:

Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.

The work was a gift of Miss Cole as a memorial to Miss Eells, who insisted that each St. Mary's girl memorize the verse as a guide and motto for daily living.

The golden chalice and paten now in use in St. Mary's chapel have an interesting history. An English friend of Bishop Whipple, the Honorable Robert B. Minturn, purchased them in Venice in 1863 to give to the bishop, and wrote him of his intention. Mr. Minturn died in 1865, and later Mrs. Minturn, learning of her husband's wish, sent them to the bishop. When in 1896 the northwest parlor was converted into a chapel, the bishop gave the chalice and paten to the school.<sup>42</sup> They were used for the first time at the 7:15 celebration on Sunday morning, November 17, 1896. After the fire of 1924, the chalice and paten were missing for some time and thought to be lost, but later were found at the School for the Deaf nearby where they had been put away in a vault for safekeeping.

In the basement under the chapel, but not connected directly with it, is a large and much needed recreation room for the girls.

Thus has St. Mary's Hall developed from a small school, which Bishop Whipple called his family and of which the pupils were from the surrounding territory, on property and in buildings acquired with borrowed money, to a firmly established, well-endowed, nationally known institution. The bishop's vision is best expressed in his own words in his commencement day address of 1883:

"It is seventeen years ago that I opened St. Mary's Hall. My hands and heart were already overfull of work. I dared not wait for some one wiser to plan and build the school. The West moves on too fast to wait. Here, an opportunity lost is gone forever."<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup>SAMUEL COOK EDSALL—born March 4, 1860, in Dixon, Illinois; Racine, 1879; studied law, admitted to the bar, 1882; Western Seminary, 1889; deacon, 1888; priest, 1889, both by Bp. McLaren. St. Peter's, Chicago, 1889-99. Consecrated bishop of North Dakota, 1899; second bishop of Minnesota, 1901. Died Feb. 17, 1917. [Cooley Scrapbook.]

<sup>43</sup>*Davis Scrapbook.*

<sup>44</sup>*Catalogue*, 1883.

And while keeping pace with modern methods of education and social relationships, the school continues to function on the principles outlined in its early days:

"The course of study is thorough; the discipline is strict; the motive is love. We seek to train girls to be all that daughters, wives, and mothers ought to be; to cultivate the mind and heart; to teach self-control in the fear of God."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup>Various catalogues.

## APPENDIX A

### *Headmistresses*

Miss Sarah P. Darlington.....	1866 to February 19, 1881
Miss Kate B. Wickersham.....	February to June, 1881
Miss Emma A. Rice.....	1881-83
Miss Charlotte B. Burchan.....	1883-86
Miss Ella F. Brown.....	1886-88
Miss Ella F. Lawrence.....	1888-96*
Miss Caroline Wright Eells.....	1896-1916
Miss Amy Louise Lowey.....	1916-28
Miss Norah E. Matheson.....	1928-31
Miss Katherine Caley.....	1931-38
Miss Margaret Robertson.....	1938-February, 1947
Miss Phyllis M. Newman.....	February, 1947-

\*From September, 1893, to April, 1894, Miss Kate I. Cole substituted for Miss Lawrence who was ill.

## APPENDIX B

### *Chaplains*

Rev. Leonard J. Mills.....	1866-67
Rev. George DuBois.....	1867-69
Rev. Thomas Richey.....	1869-70, 1871-72
Rev. Herman G. Wood.....	1870-71, 1872-73
Rev. George B. Whipple.....	1873-88
Rev. William Gardam.....	1888-89
Rev. E. Steele Peake .....	1889-01
Rev. Fred. H. Rowse.....	1901-03
Rev. George C. Tanner.....	1903-04, 1905-08
Rev. Anton T. Gesner.....	1904-05, 1908-11
Rev. Elmer E. Lofstrom.....	1911-16
Rev. James H. Young.....	1916-22
Rev. Francis L. Palmer.....	1922-29, 1931-38

Rev. Paul S. Kramer.....	1929-31
Very Rev. V. O. Ward.....	1938-41
Very Rev. O. R. Littleford.....	1941-44
Rev. D. I. Horning.....	1944-46
Very Rev. C. R. Allen.....	1946-

## APPENDIX C

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*The Life of the Reverend James Lloyd Breck, D. D.* (New York, 1883), pp. 557.

COOLEY, FRANK E., AND COOLEY, JAMES M. L.,

*The Cooley Scrapbook of the Bishops.* [See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XV (March, 1946), pp. 60-61, for description.]

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*History of Rice and Steele Counties* (Chicago, 1910), 2 vols.*Dictionary of American Biography.**Faribault Central Republican, The* (later: *Faribault Republican*). [Weekly newspaper.]*Faribault Daily News.**Faribault Democrat, The.* [Weekly newspaper.]*Minnesota Missionary.* [Diocesan publication.]

NEILL, EDWARD,

*History of Rice County* (Minneapolis, 1882), pp. 603.

SAINT MARY'S HALL,

*Catalogues, Circulars and Bulletins.**Davis Scrap Book.* [Contains newspaper clippings, pictures and other memorabilia referring to St. Mary's Hall. Valuable source material compiled by Miss Alice Davis, long time teacher and secretary at St. Mary's, daughter of the Rev. George H. Davis, one-time warden of Seabury Divinity School.]*Theopold Record Book.* [A valuable and authentic record of all acquisitions, gifts and memorials in the possession of St. Mary's Hall, compiled by Anna Cole (Mrs. H. C.) Theopold, of Faribault, bault, alumna of the class of 1884. She and her sisters, Kate '77 and Stella '88, are the daughters of the Hon. G. E. Cole, one of St. Mary's first trustees.]



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TANNER, GEORGE C.,  
*Fifty Years of Church Work in the Diocese of Minnesota, 1857-1907* (St. Paul, 1909), pp. 516.

WHIPPLE, HENRY B.,  
*Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate* (New York, 1899), pp. 576. [Autobiography of the first bishop of Minnesota.]

THE EXHIBITION IN HONOR OF THE BOOK  
OF COMMON PRAYER  
HELD AT THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

By Curt F. Bühler\*

**T**HE quadricentennial anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer has been commemorated at the Pierpont Morgan Library by a special exhibition in honor of that occasion. More than 125 books and documents demonstrating the origin, development and influence of that Prayer Book which is the visual bond between the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, were placed on view. Just four centuries ago, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, with the assistance of a number of his colleagues, modified and altered the liturgy and the ritual handed down to them by their predecessors, and set forth in the English language the results of their deliberations. Whatever opinions one may hold on the liturgical and theological values expounded by the Book of Common Prayer, no one will deny the boundless influence which this work has exerted on Anglo-American thought, literature and diction. The affectionate phrase, "our incomparable liturgy," was bestowed upon it by the Anglicans; the truth of this remark will be recognized both by impartial critics and by those of other faiths.

The exhibition held at the Morgan Library (29 September, 1949-21 January, 1950) opened with a display of liturgies of the Church of Rome, both in manuscript and in printed form.<sup>1</sup> These early books represent the liturgy in use in Great Britain prior to the Reformation; they are, in large part, the foundation upon which the English Prayer Book has been grounded. In the succeeding cases were displayed, first, those books significant for the Church of England which were pro-

\*Dr. Bühler is Keeper of Printed Books in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City.—*Editor's note.*

<sup>1</sup>A number of the manuscripts are familiar friends to visitors of previous exhibitions, including the Windmill Psalter (M. 102) and the Tiptoft Missal (M. 107). Two other manuscripts include prayers in English, one being a Prayer Roll nearly seven feet long (M. 486) and the other a Book of Hours for Gloucester Use (M. 99) having the Penitential Psalms in a metrical version. Also shown in this case was the earliest liturgical book printed in England (*Horae ad usum Sarum*, Westminster, William Caxton, 1477). The Morgan copy of this work is printed on vellum and is the only copy preserved to our day. Finally one may note the second English Primer (printed at Paris by François Regnault in 1529), a book of great importance and rarity.

duced on the Continent by the Reformers active there;<sup>2</sup> secondly, books of the English Church in use after the Act of Supremacy of Henry VIII (1534);<sup>3</sup> and, finally, books of the Pre-Reformation Church which were to provide additional material for the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>4</sup> Included under these broad general categories are works of interest not only to the Anglican and the other Protestant Churches but also to the historians and students of the Roman Catholic faith.

Following these preliminary and introductory volumes, one arrived at the Book of Common Prayer itself. Here were shown in one case four editions printed in the year 1549, including both the first and the second printings, and (as the rarest of all) the first one printed outside the city of London. This edition was produced at Worcester by John Oswen, a printer who held the patent for printing books in Welsh, though he was not a Welshman. This Prayer Book was intended for the population of Wales, but they, for the most part, were unable to read the English of this text. The remaining item in the case was the new "choir-book" by John Marbecke, printed in the following year.

Two cases of special Prayer Books next portrayed the growth and development of the Anglican liturgy. In the first of these was the second Book of Common Prayer—the revision of 1552, with its "Black Rubric" concerning kneeling at the Sacrament—together with works both attacking and defending the official forms of worship.<sup>5</sup> The second case illuminated the spreading traditions of the Anglican Church, and one found displayed there the Book of Common Prayer in French, Italian, Spanish, Welsh and Irish, as well as in the classical tongues.

Statutes of the realm from the reigns of Edward VI and his sister, Mary, were next shown, and they fully illustrated the legal position of the Church of England, leading ultimately to the revival of Roman Catholicism under Queen Mary. With the return to that faith, a new

<sup>2</sup>Included in this case were Luther's *Deutsche Messe* (Wittenberg, 1526), the *Kirchenordnung* of 1533 (printed at Nuremberg by Christoff Gutknecht), and the *Einfaltigs Bedencken* by Hermann von Wied, the archbishop of Cologne (produced at Marburg by Anton Tirolt in 1544).

<sup>3</sup>The books exhibited included the "King's Primer" of 1545, the *Ordre of Communion* of 1548 and the *Ordinal* of the following year, and finally the work known as "the King's Book" (*A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Chrysten Man*, London, 1543).

<sup>4</sup>Among the books in this case one may cite Erasmus' *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (London, 1548), an edition of Cardinal Quignon's revision of the Roman Breviary (Paris, Jean Petit, 17 October 1539), the *Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum* by Jodocus Clichtoveus (which supplied some of the Hymns), the *Missale Mozarabes* (Toledo, Peter Hagembach, 9 January 1500), and the first edition of the Greek Liturgies (Rome, 1526).

<sup>5</sup>For example, Martin Bucer's *Censura*, first printed in his *Scripta Anglicana* (Basel, 1576). There was also shown a copy of Thomas Cranmer's *A Defence of the True and Catholike Doctrine of the Sacrament* (London, 1559), which was written as a reply to the traditional views expressed by Bishop Stephen Gardiner.

demand for books of the Roman rite had to be met, and such books were shown in the next case.

Upon the death of Queen Mary (17 November 1558), the Roman Catholics forthwith lost their predominant position; the remaining books in the exhibition all represented the Reformed Church.

Among the books printed in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts, one may note the first Prayer Book (of 1559) issued after the accession of "good Queen Bess," the Book as authorized by the Hampton Court Conference (1604), Archbishop Laud's ill-fated 1637 edition (for the Scottish Church), and other issues, including copies bound for each of the sovereigns. An entire case was devoted to the period of the Commonwealth,<sup>6</sup> with a number of books on the Directory for the Public Worship of God, which replaced the Book of Common Prayer in these years. The chief glory of the Restoration period is, so far as the English Church is concerned, the authorized edition of 1662, which is still the standard Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. Also of this period, a number of royal copies were shown, including Prayer Books bound for Charles II and Queen Anne as well as the presentation copies from royal donors. The most interesting of these gift-books is the Book of Common Prayer which George III (America's last king) is reputed to have presented to King's Chapel in Boston. The selection of British Prayer Books closed with a group of prayers printed for special occasions—those issued in connection with the Gunpowder Plot, the Great Plague, the birth of a prince, and others of a similar nature.

The remaining books in the recent exhibition were those of special American interest. Included in this group were not only the very earliest Prayer Books printed on this side of the Atlantic,<sup>7</sup> but also the more recent typographic masterpieces of the DeVinne and Merrymount Presses. Both the Confederate and the Unionist causes were mirrored in the special Prayer Books for the soldiers of the two armies, while Robert E. Lee's own copy—a present from his dear cousin "Markie" (Martha Custis Williams)—delighted the onlookers from

<sup>6</sup>One of the most interesting books shown in this exhibition was the *Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion* (Edinburgh, Evan Tyler, 1643). The copy in the Morgan Library was designed for the use of the parish of Aberfoyle in Perthshire and was signed by the inhabitants of that parish. The first name on the list was that of "Mr. James Kirk minister of Abrefyll." In this case was also shown the Royalist *Collection of Prayers and Thanksgivings* (Oxford, 1643), and the Puritan parody of this work which speaks of "their No-Victories, but sound beatings at Edge-hill, in the West, and in the North" (*The Cavaliers' New Common-Prayer Booke*, York and London, 1644).

<sup>7</sup>Books shown included the "King's Chapel Prayer Book" (*A Liturgy Collected Principally from the Book of Common Prayer*, Boston, Peter Edes, 1785) and Bishop Samuel Seabury's *The Communion-Office*, New London, 1786. An unusually fine copy of the *Journal of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia, 1785) was exhibited, as well as one of the "Proposed Book" (1786), which was produced by this Convention.

either side of the Mason and Dixon line. Surely not the least interesting among the American books are those devotional ones printed for the American Indians.<sup>8</sup> Who, one wonders, was expected to read these liturgical tracts?

This short summary covers the salient features of the exhibition which the Pierpont Morgan Library assembled in honor of the four hundredth anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer. Rich as the display undoubtedly was, it necessarily included but a portion of the books on this subject which may be found on the shelves of the Library. More than a hundred examples of the various editions of the Book of Common Prayer could not be shown for reasons of space, and 130 related books (Special Prayers, Coronation Services, Statutes of the Realm affecting the Prayer Book, etc.) had to be excluded for the same reason. Nevertheless, both the visitor to the exhibition and the reader of this short account can appreciate the importance of this special collection for the historians of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

For the readers of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, this occasion may be found a suitable one to point to some other fields of collecting by the Pierpont Morgan Library which are sure to be of special significance to the clergy and to students of Church history. The recent Book of Common Prayer Exhibition was not only a commemorative show, but it was also a logical sequel to the Bible Exhibition held at the Morgan Library just two years ago. On that occasion, nearly 150 Bibles, covering a period of fifteen hundred years and illustrating the evolution in the production of Bibles prior to the nineteenth century, were placed on view. In addition to the earliest printed Latin, Greek and Hebrew texts, the earliest editions of the Scriptures in most of the languages of Western Europe were exhibited. The literary growth of the English version was illustrated in detail by books selected from the shelves of the library. The catalogue<sup>9</sup> issued in connection with this exhibition amply describes the items shown, and affords some insight into the rich treasures which the Morgan Library possesses in the field of Biblical literature and tradition. One may safely say, I believe, that the Morgan collection of early Bibles is unrivalled on this side of the Atlantic Ocean.

<sup>8</sup>Martin Luther's *Catechism*, in the language of the Delaware Indians, was printed at Stockholm, J. J. Genath, 1696. In 1715, William Bradford produced in New York a Book of Common Prayer in the Mohawk Indian language, this being (apparently) the first Prayer Book printed in what is now the United States. Of more recent days was the Prayer Book in the language of the Six Nations of Indians printed for the Rev. Solomon Davis, "Missionary to the Oneidas, at Duck-Creek, Territory of Wisconsin" in 1837.

<sup>9</sup>*The Bible, Manuscript and Printed Bibles from the Fourth to the Nineteenth Century* (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1947). Unfortunately, only 750 copies of this catalogue were printed and the book is now out of print.

The large collection of liturgies of the Church of Rome is also of major importance. In both manuscript<sup>10</sup> and in printed form, the chief local "uses" are to be found in the library. No fewer than forty Breviaries, forty-five Missals, and eighty-three Hours of the Virgin (not including a dozen early English Primers), repose on the shelves containing the library's early printed books.<sup>11</sup>

To those more interested in the works of the Reformation, the Morgan Library contains many items of historic interest and importance, including autograph letters by Luther, Melancthon, Hutten, Calvin, Zwingli, and others. A group of fifty-three books and pamphlets by Martin Luther includes the earliest and most important editions of his writings. The Roman Catholic point of view, in turn, is also represented by an extensive series of the works of Bishop John Fisher and Sir Thomas More. Nor have the nonconformist churches been neglected; an important collection of printed works by such men as George Fox and John Wesley may be found in the Morgan Library. Finally, one should particularly note the account of the Morgan autograph materials relating to the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which has recently been prepared by Professor Richard G. Salomon.<sup>12</sup> Similar collections of bound volumes labelled "Archbishops of Canterbury from Cranmer to Temple," "Bishops of London, 1273-1897," "Autographs of the Archbishops of York—Wolsey to Maclagan," "St. Paul's Cathedral" (5 volumes), etc., as well as hundreds of separate documents, provide a wealth of information for the history of the Church of England and for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

This brief review may be regarded as no more than a rough, preliminary survey of those items of interest for the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church which may be found in the Pierpont Morgan Library and which are available to all qualified students upon proper application. The fact that these records have not been subjected to systematic study makes it difficult to appraise them properly, but this very same fact affords the promise of a rich reward for those experienced scholars willing to undertake studies of this nature. The Library is at all times ready and anxious to make available to historians and literary investigators the rich resources housed within its buildings.

<sup>10</sup>Most of the Morgan manuscripts are, of course, listed in Scymour de Ricci's *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935-40), II, 1359-1636.

<sup>11</sup>Those liturgical books printed before 1501, which may be consulted in the library, are listed by Ada Thurston and Curt F. Bühler, *Check List of Fifteenth Century Printing in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1939).

<sup>12</sup>See elsewhere in this issue.



## THE PIERPORT MORGAN COLLECTION OF BISHOPS' LETTERS

By Richard G. Salomon\*

**T**HIS is a brief report on a chance find.<sup>1</sup> When working in the Pierpont Morgan Library on a quite different subject, I had the good luck of hitting on an imposing series of twelve volumes, in folio, splendidly bound in blue morocco, with a printed title page in each of them:

*Autographs and Manuscripts of the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, from Samuel Seabury to Joseph Blunt Cheshire.* With some Portraiture and Illustrative Matter. Collected by J. Pierpont Morgan. New York, 1901.

A perusal of the volumes of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* gave proof that the existence of this collection has remained as good as unknown to the historians of the Church. Dr. Kenneth W. Cameron's useful survey of "Collections of Episcopal Church Manuscripts" of 1941<sup>2</sup> does not mention it. The only trace I found is in Dr. Stowe's edition of letters of Bishop William White,<sup>3</sup> for which however the collection itself has not been used.

I had no time for a thorough study; but even a perfunctory inspection of the volumes showed that they are rich enough in valuable material to deserve the attention of the historians. Most of the pieces are autograph letters; they are supplemented by some manuscripts of sermons (White, Bass), official papers, a complete series of portraits, and numerous newspaper clippings. The arrangement is by persons in the sequence of consecrations, and chronological within each section. Every one of the 172 bishops from Seabury (1784-1796) to Cheshire (North

\*Dr. Salomon is professor of Church history in Bexley Hall, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.—*Editor's note.*

<sup>1</sup>I wish to thank the trustees of the Pierpont Morgan Library and the director, Mr. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., for the kind permission to use the material for publication.

<sup>2</sup>*HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, X (1941), pp. 402-407.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. VI (1937), p. 140; *The Life and Letters of Bishop William White*, ed. by W. H. Stowe (New York and Milwaukee, 1937), p. 250.

Carolina, 1893-1932) is represented, with the exception of four only: Nelson (Georgia-Atlanta, 1892-1917), G. H. Kinsolving (Texas, 1892 [1893] -1928), Gray (South Florida, 1892-1913), and McKim (North Tokyo, 1893-1935). The grand total of items is, according to my perfunctory survey, slightly less than two thousand, which gives this collection its place among the large ones: those in the New York Historical Society, the Maryland Diocesan Library, the Rutter Collection in the library of the Church Historical Society, etc.

Historically, the first six or seven volumes are more valuable than the rest. In the later volumes the series becomes more of an autograph collection; the material here was collected with regard to signatures rather than to contents. Towards the end, the number of form letters, letters dimissory, letters of acceptance of dimissorials, printed and signed notifications of deposition of clergymen, grows larger in comparison with the former parts. This, however, does not exclude the possibility of finding important material for a biography in these sections as well as in the earlier ones.

The main stock of the collection comes from the papers of five men. In the first part, a good number of the letters are from the files of Samuel Parker, the influential leader of the clergy of Massachusetts from about 1780, and finally (September-December, 1804) bishop of Massachusetts. In the middle part, there are many letters addressed to John Henry Hopkins, bishop of Vermont (1832-1868), and his son, namesake and biographer. The rest was brought together by the collecting zeal of two historically minded bishops: William Bacon Stevens (Pennsylvania, 1862 [1865] -1887), and his nephew, William Stevens Perry (Iowa, 1876-1898), the historian.

Personal relations between Perry and J. P. Morgan are traceable in the collection itself. Morgan acquired, it seems, at least considerable parts of the whole from Perry's estate. At least some of the Parker and Hopkins papers were certainly, the Stevens papers probably, part of Perry's collection at the time of his death.<sup>4</sup> What Morgan acquired for himself is, however, only an aftermath. Much larger numbers of Parker and Hopkins papers from the Perry collection were bought, with Morgan's money, for the General Convention,<sup>5</sup> and are now in the custody

<sup>4</sup>For the Parker papers the proof can be given. A letter of White to Seabury, copied in Seabury's hand and sent to Parker (1787, May 21), which is in the Morgan collection, is printed in Perrys "Historical Notes and Documents" (*Journals of General Conventions*, ed. by W. S. Perry, Vol. III, Claremont, 1874), p. 346, from the same copy "in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Perry."

<sup>5</sup>HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, IX (1940), pp. 189-190; *General Convention Journal*, 1898, p. 529.

of the New York Historical Society. Some of the documents in the Hopkins section have been used in Hopkins, Jr.'s, biography of his father.

Beside these greater groups of papers, there are letters coming from other sources. Some were evidently bought from dealers; a few are from Morgan's own files. Among these there is a small group, kept apart in a special envelope at the end of the whole series, which leads into the very beginnings of Morgan's activities as a collector. It is known that Morgan already as a boy started hunting for autographs of significant contemporaries, and that he cherished this collection so much as to carry it with him on his travels, until it was stolen on a railroad station in Germany. This series begins with the following note:

Master J. P. Morgan  
care of J. M. Beebe, Morgan & Co.  
Boston Mass.

[Postmarked: Burlington Vt. 5 Aug. 5]

Burlington Vt. August 4, 1851

My dear Sir

I send you the autograph which you have requested and am  
your friend and servant in Christ

JOHN H. HOPKINS

Master J. Pierpont Morgan

Similar short communications, granting however the Mister to the 14 year old boy, are from Bishops Henshaw (Rhode Island, 1843-1852), G. Burgess (Maine, 1847-1866), Brownell (Connecticut, 1819-1865), Gadsden (South Carolina, 1840-1852), and Ives (North Carolina, 1831-1853). They are dated from 1851 and 1852. It can be seen from them that the young autograph hunter did not hesitate to pester a dignitary with a second letter if a first request for the autograph remained unanswered. Burgess provided him with the signatures of other bishops, and made a somewhat noncommittal promise to let him have a signature of the archbishop of Canterbury; Gadsden advised him on whom to approach for *rareissima* like the signatures of Bishops Robert Smith (1795-1801) and Dehon (1812-1817) of South Carolina.

Best represented in the collection are Bishops B. B. Smith (Kentucky, 1832-1884) and McIlvaine (Ohio, 1832-1873), with over 40 pieces each; White (Pennsylvania, 1787-1836), Doane (New Jersey, 1832-1859), J. Williams (Connecticut, 1851-1899), Coxe (Western New York, 1865-1896), Neely (Maine, 1867-1899), Dudley (Kentucky, 1875 [1884]-1904), with more than thirty each; P. Chase (Ohio,

1819-1831; Illinois, 1835-1852), Hopkins (Vermont, 1832-1868), Kemper (the Northwest, 1835-1859; Wisconsin, 1859-1870), and sixteen others follow with over twenty each. Some of the outstanding bishops of the early period before 1850 are represented approximately as follows:<sup>6</sup> Seabury, 12; Provoost, 8; Madison, 10; Claggett, 10; Parker, 16; Hobart, 16; Griswold, 12; Dehon, 5; Ravenscroft, 9; H. U. Onderdonk, 16; Meade, 18; B. T. Onderdonk, 9.

At the very beginning of the collection a remarkable document appears: the draft of an address of Northern bishops to President Lincoln of October 11, 1862, requesting the appointment of a day of general fasting and prayer. This document was never delivered to its address, and, it seems, never printed; it was mentioned, as far as I can see, only in J. H. Hopkins, Jr.'s, biography of his father,<sup>7</sup> and deserves some study. It characterizes the situation in the House of Bishops as it was in the war years: it is signed by only sixteen of the twenty-five bishops present at the General Convention of 1862; and two of the sixteen signatures, those of Williams of Connecticut and Whipple of Minnesota, are crossed out with firm strokes. The signature of the presiding officer, Hopkins of Vermont, who acted in place of the absent Presiding Bishop Brownell, is conspicuously missing. It is most characteristic that after the first words, "The Subscribers, Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church," the words, "assembled in New York in General Convention" are cancelled, which shows that an attempt to make the action official must have failed. This attempt has left no traces in the *Journal* of the Convention.

Of other remarkable pieces only a few will be mentioned here in order to give an idea of the rank of the collection.

There are the minutes of the famous first Philadelphia Conference (April, 1784) in White's own hand, probably one of several copies in existence. From White's last years, there is a letter to Ravenscroft (1827) concerning the conflicts in the diocese of Pennsylvania connected with the election of an assistant bishop; another one to Hopkins (1832) on the partition of the Eastern Diocese.

A sharp criticism of the "Proposed Book" by Benjamin Moore (New York, 1801-1816) is given in a letter to Parker (1785).

Numerous letters, partly printed, partly, it seems, unknown, by Hobart, Croes, Bowen and Ravenscroft, deal with the personality of Philander Chase and his plan for a collecting campaign in England (1823).

<sup>6</sup>I cannot vouch for complete exactness of the following figures. I had no time to check my first count.

<sup>7</sup>[John Henry Hopkins, Jr.], *The Life of the late Rt. Rev. John Henry Hopkins* (New York, 1873), p. 329.

Henry U. Onderdonk, in a letter to Hopkins (1827) after his election for Pennsylvania, makes the interesting remark: "I suppose it to be one of my duties to magnify reasonably my office." In the same section there is the original of the famous letter by which Onderdonk forbade Hopkins to lecture in Philadelphia.<sup>8</sup> In the next section (Meade), follows a formidable and monotonous document: the original, 28 sheets long, of G. W. Doane's presentment (1852), with the signatures of Meade, McIlvaine and G. Burgess.<sup>9</sup>

Among the numerous letters of Bishop B. B. Smith of Kentucky, there is one of almost tragic irony: a jubilant utterance (1866) about Cummins becoming his assistant bishop. About the Cummins schism, which began a few years later, the collection contains nothing.

McIlvaine is represented with a letter (a. o.) to Alonzo Potter (1845) in which he declares himself not to be "the rash and precipitate and pugnacious ultra which it has been my misfortune to seem." In a letter to Hopkins (1848), he speaks about "our brother's of New Jersey [Doane] embarrassments" and remarks that his creditors "will find it hard to manage such a steed under that bridle"—an unconscious prophecy of his own experience in the Doane trial of 1852. In 1865, he protests in a very sharp form against Hopkins' conciliatory idea of sending a message of welcome to the Southern brothers for the re-establishment of a united Church.<sup>10</sup> Similar disapprovals were given in milder terms by most of the Northern bishops. A printed text of Hopkins' draft is in the Whitehouse section.

From the Southerners (Otey, Polk, Johns, Green, Davis), there are very interesting utterances from the time before, during, and after the war; generally very bitter.

Of other interesting detail there is, for example, a letter of Bishop Coxé to Hopkins, Jr. (1864), in which he describes his religious development and family background; and a typewritten sample of Schereschewsky's translation of the Bible into Chinese.

And so on. These few specimens will be enough to show that the collection holds many promises for the specialist.

John Pierpont Morgan's own relations to the Church have left surprisingly few traces in the collection. It is known that he had a very strong influence on the life of the Church; though it might be an exaggeration to claim, as one of his biographers does, that his position was more dominating than that of any bishop. But very little of his own correspondence is enclosed in the collection. There is a letter of Bishop Henry C. Potter of New York to Morgan (1889), written in his own

<sup>8</sup>Used in John Henry Hopkins, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>9</sup>Another copy is in the McIlvaine section.

<sup>10</sup>J. H. Hopkins, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 347.

name and that of Bishops Williams, Whipple and William C. Doane, which accompanied the gift of a loving-cup in gratitude for Morgan's good services in the General Convention.<sup>11</sup>

A kind of corollary to this is also in the library: a dedication copy of the Standard Prayer Book of 1892, almost over-sumptuously bound in a heavy cover with metal cut, and signed by the same four bishops and Bishop Nichols of California. Together with it is the printing contract for the book, signed by William R. Huntington, the famous rector of Grace Church, and J. P. Morgan himself.

<sup>11</sup>Morgan was the unnamed "Lay Member of the House of Deputies by whose munificence the entire expense has been defrayed of printing the Report of the Joint Committee on the Standard Prayer Book and of printing 1,000 copies of the new Standard Book," to whom the General Convention of 1892 gave a vote of thanks; see *Journal*, 1892, pp. 135f.



## CHURCH RECORDS SURVEY IN NORTH CAROLINA

*By Christopher Crittenden\**

**A** survey of the records of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina is being made by William S. Powell, researcher of the state department of archives and history. Questionnaires designed to bring in information about the historical records, as well as furnishings and other objects of historical importance belonging to the churches of the state, have been sent to the nearly 300 parishes and missions of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina.

The Rt. Rev. M. George Henry of Asheville, bishop of the diocese of Western North Carolina, the Rt. Rev. Edwin A. Penick of Raleigh, bishop of the diocese of North Carolina, and the Rt. Rev. Thomas H. Wright of Wilmington, bishop of the diocese of East Carolina, have authorized this study of the records of the Episcopal Church, and are cooperating in an effort to make the report as complete and accurate as possible.

Before the Revolution, when the Church of England, now the Episcopal Church in America, was the "established church," parishes were laid out in each county as the county was established. The parish served not only as an area for administration in Church affairs but also as a unit for the purposes of taxation. To the parish and its officials, the vestry, fell many duties, most of which later were carried on by the civil government. The vestry was responsible for the care of the poor, the widows, and the orphans, and in many cases for apprenticing boys to learn a trade. In addition to records of transactions in connection with these responsibilities, the Church also maintained what now are called vital statistics. A chronological record was kept of births and deaths, and also of baptisms, confirmations, and marriages. In many cases, these records continue without a break from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present.

Many of the Episcopal churches of the state have through the years been the custodians or owners of objects of historical and artistic value. St. Thomas' Church at Bath, for example, has one of the very few books still in existence which belonged to the first public library in North Carolina. That book, published in England in 1689, was probably fairly

\*Mr. Crittenden is the director of the department of archives and history of the state of North Carolina.—*Editor's note.*

new when the Rev. Thomas Bray acquired it to send to Bath as a part of the public library, which was established there about 1700.

Of more recent date is the painting "Madonna of the Hills," by Elliott Daingerfield, a noted American artist who died in 1932, which hangs in St. Mary's of the Hills, the Episcopal church in Blowing Rock.

The parish house of Calvary Church in Tarboro contains a very interesting collection of relics from the Holy Land and from elsewhere in the Near East, particularly Egypt, and a number of documents of the period of the Revolutionary War and later.

Mr. Powell's survey of these records and relics is expected to bring to light many valuable documents bearing not only on the early history of the Church in North Carolina, but also on social problems handled by the vestry before the Revolution. The parish records also will be of interest for their statistical data, and for new information on individuals who have been members of the Church.

Not only will this survey cover the records of churches still functioning, but it is anticipated that many records will be found of parishes and missions no longer in existence. Correspondence of the bishops and other clergy and of leading laymen in the Church also will be included, and the material in the archives of the English Church which pertains to North Carolina will be surveyed.

Persons having information about Episcopal churches in North Carolina, either still in existence or defunct, are asked to contact Mr. Powell at the state department of archives and history in Raleigh.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Codrington Chronicle. An Experiment in Anglican Altruism on a Barbados Plantation, 1710-1834.* Edited by Frank J. Klingberg. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949. Pp. vii, 157. \$3.00.

Professor Klingberg of the department of history in the University of California at Los Angeles has chosen as his own special field of research the social effect of Anglican missions on life in the American colonies during the 18th century. Once again, as in the case of his previous study, *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York* (published by the Church Historical Society in 1940), he has put the student of American Church history very much in his debt.

In this book, however, the various chapters are contributed by members of a seminar under his guidance and inspiration. Professor Klingberg adds a short preface describing the *modus operandi* of the seminar and the sources which were used, and making due acknowledgments not only to earlier authorities but to all who assisted in the compilation of the present volume.

Professor Klingberg also contributes a scholarly introduction, which is invaluable in orientating the reader as to the importance of this study. He points out that when Gen. Christopher Codrington bequeathed his West Indian plantations to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to "maintain a convenient Number of Professors and Scholars" on the estates from the proceeds of the sugar produced thereon, he set in motion a humanitarian experiment which ultimately found its fruition in the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation and Christianization of the Negro in North America. Not that this outcome was anticipated.

"To the Society, the Negro was a man with a soul. To the planter, he was a chattel, a piece of property, a tool. The Society, however, now owned the tool on the Codrington plantations, and through the course of a century and a quarter, proceeded on its assumption that in a humane regime the Negro could become a Christian, educated and skilled, and yet remain, by the law of the Colony, in a state of slavery."

The logic of events was to prove that the planters' misgivings that the Christianization and education of the slaves would lead ultimately to freedom were well founded.

In Chapter I, Samuel Clyde McCulloch and John A. Schutz write "Of the Noble and Generous Benefaction of General Christopher Codrington." Codrington was no ordinary man. Born in Barbados in 1668,

he was a graduate of Oxford (where he had resided at both All Souls' College and Christ Church), a member of the Middle Temple, a student of the classics, a poet and author of distinction, the owner of a valuable library of 12,000 volumes, a brave soldier, a successful colonial administrator, and the founder of the famous Codrington Library at All Souls' College. His bequest to the S. P. G. revealed him as a devout churchman sensitive to the need for well-educated leaders, clerical and lay, and a sincere humanitarian who wished to extend religious advantages to the colored people in the colonies. The S. P. G. set itself to carry out the wishes of the testator, but from the outset ran into difficulties as to the interpretation of certain details of the will which took many years of litigation to iron out.

In Chapter II, Maud E. O'Neil writes "Of the Buildings in Progress with Which to House the College." This chapter should be read in conjunction with a perusal of the frontispiece, which reproduces "A Prospect of Codrington College" from a work published in 1722. Miss O'Neil gives a vivid picture of the delays due to shortage of funds, of materials, and of skilled workers, the disastrous effects of tropical hurricanes, and the difficulties incident to long distance planning for local conditions imperfectly understood.

In Chapter III, Schutz and Miss O'Neil write "Of the Plantations Intire," describing the management of the estates, the conflicting points of view of the managers and local agents on the one hand and the bishops and other members of the Society on the other, and the growing prosperity of the estates after the turn of the 19th century.

Hazel Morse Hartley treats, in Chapter IV, "Of the Produce of the Plantations." She shows in detail that the Codrington reports are invaluable for the light they throw upon the 18th century process of sugar and rum manufacture and marketing and the "seasoning" of slave laborers in sufficient numbers to make the enterprise continuously profitable.

Chapter V, "Of the Negroes Thereon," is written by J. Harry Bennett, Jr. In this chapter we see how the Society, working within the established order, possessed the Codrington Negroes as slaves and yet persisted in its program of educating and Christianizing them.

"The slow beginnings of the Negro humanitarian program at Codrington are, indeed, as meaningful to social history as are the nineteenth century successes."

Mr. Bennett reviews the achievements and failures of the succession of clergymen and laymen sent out by the Society to serve as catechists, the problems that they confronted, and the gradual ameliorization of the lot of the Negroes up to the time of their emancipation by government edict in 1834.

Jean Bullen and Helen Livingston, writing "Of the State and Advancement of the College" in Chapter VI, trace the development of the experiment. The grammar school, opened in 1745, served "as a testing ground for educational methods in the plantations and as a preparatory school for the college program which could be set up only as young men

were schooled to meet its requirements." In 1797, after many years of ups and downs in the fortunes of the grammar school, the Rev. Mark Nicholson, M. A., of Queen's College, Oxford, went out to Codrington with the title of president of the college—a title as yet without substance. The realization of the old hope of a true West Indian college was crystallized in 1824 by the consecration of William Hart Coleridge as first bishop of the Barbados, with a jurisdiction including the Leeward Islands and British Guiana. The college was formally opened by Bishop Coleridge on September 9, 1830, with the Rev. J. H. Pinder as principal. Between 1830 and 1900, three-fifths of the clergymen in the West Indies had received some education at the college, and colored missionaries had gone forth thence to other islands of the Indies and to West Africa. Codrington provided the pattern of the schools in Windsor, Fredericton, Cobourg, and Lennoxville, which have trained a native ministry for the Canadian Church. Codrington's vision stimulated Bishop Berkeley in his later efforts for colonial education. Coleridge and Pinder transferred their efforts to England, where Coleridge served as first warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, the first English missionary college, while Pinder became the first principal of Wells, the most successful of the diocesan theological colleges.

As a half-grown boy, the present reviewer first made the acquaintance of Gen. Codrington and his foundation through the fascinating pages of two blue-bound volumes entitled *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* in his father's library. He takes keen pleasure in introducing Gen. Codrington and his far-reaching experiment to the readers of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* by urging that they acquire and peruse *Codrington Chronicle*. It is well worth the money!

E. H. ECKEL.

Trinity Parish,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma.

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*The Word Was Made Flesh.* By John S. Marshall. Sewanee, Tenn.: University of the South Press. Pages, x, 80. Paper, \$2.00; cloth, \$3.50.

Professor Marshall, to whom we are already deeply indebted for his splendid modern paraphrase of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, here does the same sort of thing for America's great theologian, William Porcher Du Bose. We say "the same sort of thing," because in this volume Dr. Marshall does not paraphrase so much as provide a convenient, logically developed outline of the whole philosophical-theological view of Du Bose. Beginning with a brief sketch of Du Bose's "method," we proceed to a consideration of the nature of the world, of man, of God in Christ, and of the Church and its sacraments. The scheme is built up around the prologue to St. John's Gospel—and this, of course, is singularly appropriate, since Du Bose's whole system is incarnational in its method, although soteriological in its design. For Du Bose, man becomes (through Christ the Word) that which (by Christ the Word)

he already is. In this paradox, the basic position of the theologian is stated; his books are all variations on this single theme.

Any criticism of Dr. Marshall's book would be a criticism of Du Bose. There is, indeed, only one criticism which occurs to this reviewer, recognizing as one must that the theology of Du Bose is one type of Christian thought which has both a long history and a profound contribution to make to the total Christian understanding of life in Christ. The criticism is one that might have been made of all of Du Bose's writing—that while he makes some place for eschatology, the eschatological does not play that place in his scheme which one might think is integral to the Christian world-view. His theology, while in no sense "liberal," is in need—one may think—of something of that emphasis on finitude and the fulfillment of finitude in, yet beyond, history, which the continental theologians of our day have put at the heart of their reconstruction.

But such a comment would open up the further question whether Du Bose was not too much the child of his own evolutionary age; can a theologian ever extricate himself from the currents of thought in the midst of which he is writing? And the answer is probably that he can never do this, in a complete sense. At best, he can correct these currents by his own insights; it is the dialectic of thought, historically developing, which gives that fullness of understanding that the Christian faith demands.

The present volume has a preface by the late Bishop Manning, who acknowledged that his own theology was that of Du Bose, and who commended Du Bose to the modern reader—a reader all too ready to forget that in America we have had in the Episcopal Church at least one notable thinker—the quiet, unassuming, profound scholar, who spoke, as Murray of Cambridge University put it, "at first hand of God and from God."

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*

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*A Philosophy of Life.* Richard N. Bender. New York: Philosophical Library. xi-250 pages. Price, \$3.75.

Professor Bender teaches at Baker University, and in his recent book he seeks to make philosophy live for his students and for those who read what must obviously be an edited transcript of some general introductory course in the meaning of philosophy and its methods.

Deeply influenced, as he acknowledges, by the philosophy of Brightman at Boston University, Dr. Bender approaches the problems of philosophy from what seems to be a personalistic position. He touches on theological and moral problems, arguing for a theistic interpretation of existence and a high standard in ethics congruous with the general Christian view. In his concluding sections, he argues for immortality as the necessary outcome of such a world-view as he has portrayed.

While the author does not have much to say about religion in any



sense other than "within the limits of natural reason," it is plain that he is "on the Christian side"; it may be, and a second book could show, that he is not only an ethical theist, but also a Christian believer, who finds that in Christ the probabilities and possibilities for which he has argued become, through revelation, truths for faith.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*

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*Letters to My Son.* By Dagobert D. Runes. New York: Philosophical Library. 92 pages. Price, \$2.75.

In this small book, a Jewish father, well known as a man of letters, editor, teacher and author—and now engaged in the direction of a large publishing house—has written a series of comments on the meaning of life, addressed to his son, and expressed in a poetic and religious vein. A somewhat liberalized, yet very profound, Jewish religious emotion speaks through these letters; and the reader himself will be moved as the father tries to prepare his son for the life which is ahead of him, touching on questions which range from contacts with his friends and acquaintances to the deepest problems of faith.

The Christian reader will not agree with the strictures on certain aspects of Christian practice; yet he must admit, sorrowfully and with shame, that a Jewish European, contemplating what those who profess the faith of Christ have done to Jews in recent years and indeed through history, can hardly be expected to say or think otherwise. If this little volume did nothing else, it would shame us who are Christian into the confession, *mea culpa, mea maxima culpa.*

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*The General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*

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*All Saints' Church, Waccamaw: the Parish, the Place, the People, 1739-1948.* By Henry DeSaussure Bull. Columbia, S. C.: R. L. Bryan Co., 1949. (Illus., 107 pp.)

South Carolina produced the first really successful and scholarly diocesan history in the Episcopal Church, when Frederick Dalcho utilized the facilities at his command and saved for posterity a good deal which would otherwise have been lost. The state suffered severe losses in 1865, when a number of parishes were decimated by the invading forces and their valuable records destroyed. Herein is a lesson for our churchmen who take a pride in their traditions. Parish records should be printed



and published for the benefit of posterity as well as for the scrutiny of students.

We are glad that the Rev. Mr. Bull, long a diligent and painstaking toiler in the field of South Carolina Church history, has brought forth a second printing of his study of a celebrated colonial parish. Chapters are devoted to the beginning and growth of the Anglican Church in the Waccamaw peninsula, to the "expansion and collapse," and to the "rebuilding and recovery." We have generous excerpts from the old records, valuable for the secular historian as well as for the ecclesiastically minded. We have notes on the early settlers and the way in which they lived and served their communities. The parish registers are copied, listing baptisms from 1819 to 1947, all confirmations from 1834 to the same date, all marriages and all burials for the last one hundred and thirty years. The clergymen from 1772 are given, with the dates of their incumbency; but the vestry list is complete only since 1819—the year in which "the old brown leather covered register," still in use, was begun. For the genealogist Mr. Bull's book is of special interest.

"All Saints' Church, Waccamaw," says the author, "has lived out its long life in a small corner of this great country of ours, but it has been a life of great worth. For more than six generations the people of Waccamaw have gathered here and worshipped God and sung His praise. There have been many vicissitudes. Four great wars have come and gone. There have been periods of wealth and prosperity and of meager, desolating poverty, of wind and storm and fire and flood. It has been an honorable life, blessed with the devoted service of brave, godly men and women in every decade. . . . Today All Saints' Church, set in the midst of the oaks and moss and azaleas of its ancient domain . . . seems quietly and steadfastly to look forward to other centuries of service to the glory of God."

EDGAR L. PENNINGTON.

*St. John's Rectory,  
Mobile, Alabama.*

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*Robert Johnson Talks It Over.* (Johnson & Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J., 1949). No price.

"Communication between top management and employees is one of the most puzzling problems in business. It also is a problem that must be solved if employer and wage earners are to live and work together in friendship, with mutual prosperity, and for the good of society."

These words of the preface to Mr. Johnson's reprint of the broadcasts to the employees of Johnson & Johnson indicate his purpose in giving them. They are forty-four in number, and fall into two main groups: a description of the business of the company, and a statement of the principles on which it is conducted. They are informal, but their subject matter is admirably organized and clearly expressed. Their effect upon their hearers must have been what it was intended to be: to promote understanding, harmony, and loyalty. They represent an ap-

plication of the principles set forth in Mr. Johnson's book, *Or Forfeit Freedom*, reviewed in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. XVIII (March, 1949), p. 86.

SPENCER ERVIN.

*Philadelphia.*

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*The Province of the Pacific.* By Louis Childs Sanford, late Bishop of San Joaquin. Philadelphia. The Church Historical Society. 1949. \$3.00.

This book is interesting and valuable as telling the story of the struggle to form a province, a struggle which has extended over many years. It is not easy for us in England, with our Provinces of Canterbury and York in a comparatively small space, to realize the need of a provincial system which is only slowly evolving in the vast area covered by the American Episcopal Church, and to realize the difficulties also which must be encountered in the course of this evolution. Difficulties in the past have been a fear of prelacy and a dread of sectionalism, yet Bishop Henry C. Potter, of New York, as far back as 1889, remarked that "such a body as the General Convention" had "grown too unwieldy for purposes of efficient legislation." There has also been, to use Bishop Sanford's words, the "apparent inability of General Convention to appreciate the potential value of the provincial system as an intermediate factor between the extremes of a national bureaucracy on the one hand and diocesan sovereignty on the other." We are grateful to Bishop Sanford for telling in an interesting way the story of these early struggles towards a realization of a provincial system which must eventually appear not altogether unlike that with which other parts of the Anglican Communion are familiar. The problem of relating the provincial synod to the General Convention remains to be solved.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,  
Oxford, England.*

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*How We Got Our Prayer Book.* By Edward Henry Eckel, Rector of Trinity Parish, Tulsa, Oklahoma (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1949). Publication No. 30. 25 cents.

Dr. Eckel has told the story of our Prayer Book, both English and American, "the book which not only sets the standard of worship for forty million Anglicans, but which is universally recognized as being, next to the King James Version of the Bible, the greatest religious classic in the English language." He had told it in less than twenty pages with ability and charm.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*The Genius and Mission of the Episcopal Church.* By John Sedbury Marshall, Professor of Philosophy, The University of the South (Philadelphia, the Church Historical Society, 1949). Publication No. 31. 25 cents.

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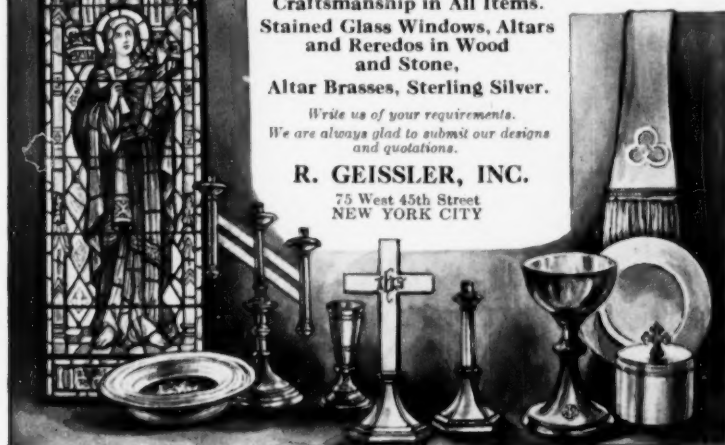
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